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THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

PHYSICS DEPARTMENT

PHYSICS 311

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G L E A M
O F
C O M F O R T

TO THIS
DISTRACED EMPIRE,
IN DESPITE OF
FACTION, VIOLENCE, and CUNNING,
DEMONSTRATING
THE FAIRNESS AND REASONABLENESS
O F
NATIONAL CONFIDENCE
IN THE
PRESENT MINISTRY.

Addressed to every ENGLISHMAN, who has at
Heart the REAL HAPPINESS of his
COUNTRY.

THE SECOND EDITION.

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THE contemplation of our country's calamities is ever unpleasing. A people, however, can no more be rescued from their adversities, by shutting their eyes, than is a disease to be eradicated by scarring up the seat of infection. To emancipate a nation, her misfortunes must be sought at their source; and fruitless is the hope of a perfect cure, unless the *cause* of evil be extinguished.

His mind must be singularly organized who can behold, without pain, the present condition of the British Empire. It is indeed no exaggeration to assert, that in almost every disaster that can afflict a state, this nation unhappily surpasses the rest of Europe. Public and private want; a monstrous mass of debt, and not the faintest hope of removing it; an immense fall in revenue, and a large failure of the most promising taxes; discontent and distrust throughout our dominions; coldness and disaffection in our fellow subjects; contempt and aversion in foreign nations; a precarious peace, and our

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neighbours arming at our threshold ; ill humour corroding in all our dependencies, the parent country rent to pieces by profligate factions, and our gracious Sovereign insulted upon the throne of his ancestors, by a daring band of aspiring miscreants. These are a few of the calamities of this empire, and sure the review were melancholy, if we had no prospect of redemption.

DREADFUL however as our condition is, it is not desperate. We are unhappy, but not hopeless. England seems to have been the peculiar care of Heaven and miraculous interposition alone could have saved us from the perils that from time to time impended our very existence. But all past dangers shrink into nothing, compared with our situation under the late Ministry. It may savour of enthusiasm perhaps, but yet I cannot help believing, that the hand of Providence was concerned in forming the present Administration, from whom alone this country has a right to entertain any confidence of being placed upon that footing of ease and comfort which a wise people should aim at.

AND does the reader think that the complicated miseries which have distracted this country during the present reign are attributable, as shallow men assert, to the incapacity and wickedness of particular Ministers or measures? Against all such speculations I beg leave, in the directest terms, to protest,
and

and however the sentiment I am about to deliver may militate against ancient habits—however it may combat with prejudices, fond from familiarity and venerable from their age—however dissonant it may sound to those, whose indolence or idolatry prohibits the access of truth, whose fixed errors preclude from analysing things in their naked nature bared from the disguise of specious establishments—however it may be scouted by that impetuous faction, who glory in curtailing the authorities of the Crown, and degrading the executive government—whatever effect it produce upon any man or body of men, I have no scruple in affirming, that *all* the misery, distress, shame, and dishonour of this nation, *spring from, are twisted with, and grow out of,* the *essence* and *nature* of the *British Constitution*.

THE extreme delicacy of this subject requires every possible consideration. It is a debt the reader fairly owes me and I demand it of his justice. It is not reason, but prejudice—it is not the wisdom of men, but their weakness I dread. Whoever goes beyond the beaten course of political enquiry, has always much to encounter; much more is the hazard in attempting the refutation of long established doctrines, and the exposition of false and vicious systems, when those systems are sanctioned by the attachments of mankind for a series of ages. Here it is

that we are forced to confederate against ourselves, and that the pride of the human soul is enlisted for its destruction. The hardship of asserting truths, which are not obvious, is at all times great, but it is a gigantic labour, when specious falsehoods, imposing knaveries, and fraudulent ceremonies, which have been revered for a length of time as solid and substantial excellencies, are to be contended with.

How many important tenets depend on no other foundation, than habits of belief, and currency of opinion! Few men can give a better reason for their religious and civil creed than this simply, that their fathers professed the same faith—and though it is preposterous that a religion or a government must be the best in the world only because our ancestors thought them so; how seldom is it that either is vindicated upon wiser principles and indeed how rare to find any one who can abide the disquisition with the temper or soberness of a rational being!

A DELUGE of gross delusion covered all Christendom for above a thousand years. What anathema's, thunders, destructions were levelled against any person who strove to emerge from this gulph of darkness. All the Divinities of Heaven were centered in the person of that Pope, who has since been a compendium of all that is abominable upon earth. Such *was* the effect of inveterate custom,

tom, such is the effect of liberal conviction; the reform of religious error was rapid and decisive in this island, and civil error will, I trust, be abolished with the same expedition and spirit.

LIBERTY sounds well. The very name of the British Constitution bewitches and fascinates men. It is not admiration they feel, it is idolatry. It is not the cool worship of reasonable creatures, it is the furious bigotry of desperate enthusiasts.

BUT let us not be debauched by figures! Let us take off the veil that shrouds this Pagod—behold the oracle disrobed of its mantle, and what a combination of deformity presents itself! What a mass of fraud, imposture, ignorance, inconsistency, folly, corruption, and violence, make up this vaunted system on which this nation prides itself, and for which we are so justly the butt of Europe!

THE boasted superiority of the British Constitution is said to consist in its blending a portion of the three ordinary forms of government.—True, it contains certain qualities of each, and this very commixture it is, that constitutes its vice and renders it the very worst form of civil polity in the universe.

AN aristocracy is always haughty, imperious, and austere. Infinite mischief grows out of such a government, even if it were

pure and unmixed. A democracy is ever turbulent, untractable, and violent; by its very genius, it produces eternal strife and tumult, though it were resisted by no other power whatever.—But cursed with both these forms, and possessing no useful, no vigorous, or efficient particle of a monarchy, the British Government is at once the most miserable and ridiculous system that can be imagined. Our history is nothing but a series of cabal, discord, sedition, and rebellion to the Prince; of tyranny, treachery, and cruelty towards each other. In other free governments the rage of parties and the violence of factions sometimes cease, and the publick enjoy a casual hour of tranquillity. But with us, dissentions, animosities, and outrages are perennial. Looking back for a century, we see from the daring spirit that springs from this constitution, the best monarchs counteracted in their laudable views of abridging the pernicious powers of the people and in strengthening and establishing the Royal authority, whose feebleness and inefficacy encouraged these struggles in the subjects. One amiable Prince, (whom we have since justly canonized) perished upon a scaffold and another with his family expelled the Crown for ever, contrary to every law and against the ordinations of Heaven, (for who can doubt that Sovereigns are sacred, and that government is a right divine.) The land

land streaming with rivers of blood, and cruelty and carnage desolating these miserable islands upon pretences of *liberty*. In the present century, we have had less slaughter and ferocious barbarity it is true, but not more comfort. The block had luckily gone far in the annihilation of most of our great families and the Crown, it is true, has had little trouble in latter times from the aristocracy. A new race of nobles, suitable to the views of the Court, was erected by the new family that was called to the throne (whose right is as holy and whose persons are just as sacred as the former family.)--But by the *people*, the governing authority has been more thwarted, baffled, resisted, and reviled, than ever. Opposition grew systematic and was openly proclaimed in the Sovereign's teeth. A favourite Minister has been forced from the King's council with as little ceremony as they hang a highwayman, and party violence and villainy carried to extremities scarcely credible.

WE are told, that each of the three estates has its separate properties, and that the Constitution subsists by the tenacious preservation of these properties. But we find in fact, that these properties are so undefined, so bewildered in ambiguity, that they become an endless source of wranglings and dissensions. The exclusive right of the Commons yesterday, is the clear right of the Lords tomorrow.

row. Discussions and controversies succeed, and the nation is kept in hot water, by a clashing of jurisdictions, and a war of declarations and manifestos. The Crown which is the natural seat of all powers, privileges, and properties, is put behind the curtain in many of these disputes and the King's name perhaps never once mentioned, when in fact he is principal in the cause and planned the whole litigation. The equipoise, or to use the new word, the balance, of the system has never existed at all; for nothing can be more directly repugnant than the theory and practice of this Constitution.

It is in truth a machine constructed upon principles so whimsical and extravagant—composed of materials so opposite and discordant—with means so inadequate to the objects, and with objects so unaccomplishable by any possible operation of the instruments—so confused, so complicated, so contradictory, that no state pilot ever conducted it with harmony in the movements, or with success in the execution of its functions for any length of time.

THE end of human nature is happiness, and the perfection of human polity is the promotion of it. That government is most complete, whose subjects are most contented; murmurs and miseries are the natural and eternal produce of our system, and by this infallible test, it is by much the most pernicious government of Europe.

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WITH thorough confidence therefore it is, that I submit to those who have sagacity to penetrate this mass of fatal foolery and liberality to own their conviction, whether it is not the true interest of the English nation, that this system of vexation, inconsistency, imposture, venality, corruption, and perfidy should be utterly demolished.—And that all the powers of all its various parts be concentrated in their rightful and genuine depository—*the person of the King.*

THE Ministers that best promote this GREAT CAUSE, are most entitled to our confidence and gratitude. Our abhorrence alone is due to those who thwart it.

IN THIS COUNTRY there is a set of men who, upon this wise and virtuous principle deserve the sincere reverence of this nation. A set of men, who (above the feelings that counteract the wishes of ordinary people, at the hazard of their individual safety, the certain loss of private good fame and public reputation, under the weight of national execration and against an ocean of obstacles) have steadily and uniformly sought the happiness of the people of England, in their own despight. Even when covered with public infamy and persecuted by popular hatred, they have in the meek spirit of the divinity, cried out “*We forgive them, they know*”

know not what they do," and in those very moments exerted their best faculties to redeem us from the miseries which are our inheritance under this form of government and which must be our lot until the radical overthrow of the English Constitution is happily accomplished.—The reader cannot well be ignorant that I mean the *King's friends*, or to speak more in technicals, *the secret advisers of the Crown*.

HISTORY records some instances of a generous self-devotion in bodies of men of the antient world.—In modern times certainly nothing has occurred worthy to be compared with the illustrious advocates of *our* welfare. In the conduct of those mentioned in Roman story, there is without doubt much to be commended, but it should be remembered that the greatest of them, the Horatii, the Decii, the Fabii, were backed by the people and incited by the sure applause of their *Co-temporaries*; whilst on the contrary the King's friends are detested by the present generation, and are animated only with the dry confidence of *future* fame. A view of their *objects* elevates the latter into a splendid superiority. The Roman worthies struggled only for the *glory* and *liberty* of their country (which the Zealots for free systems think synonymous) whilst the King's friends pursue the *solid happiness* of the people

ple in defiance of a host of doctrines and a mountain of prejudices, which great writers (Lock, Selden, Sydney, Somers, &c.) and the hereditary insanity of Englishmen have rendered reverend and holy. Opposed by greater impediments, the title of the latter to immortality is therefore greater and more decided.

It were a tedious task to detail all the labours of these good men for this great end. Much of their achievements must have reached the knowledge of every man in this country, but their previous feats are reduced to nothing when compared with their exploits during the last year. To those I mean to confine myself.

THE full half of this mighty undertaking was effected at once in the fall of the late and the rise of the present Administration.

It is a general opinion that Fox's India bill was thrown out, not from its defects but as a means of subverting the Ministry,—this opinion, popular as it is, I beg leave to deny. It is not the fall of any particular Minister that can consummate the great work of our redemption from this constitution. That scheme had been often tried before and tried in vain. The CAUSE was but slightly promoted by such events, and conviction in the country progressed very slowly.

UNLESS the defeat of obnoxious Ministers
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was accompanied by circumstances that tended to expose the false principles, and unravel the impostures of the Constitution, the whole were a rash and impotent experiment. Milder methods than the loss of the India bill might have vanquished the Portland Administration, but that, of all others, was the best, because in that dashing measure many leading and capital ends were completed at a single stroke.

THE ruin of their enemies was, I am persuaded, a smaller motive with the King's friends, than convincing mankind by their *manner* of overthrowing the India bill, of the rank absurdity of these two fundamental maxims of the British Constitution—viz. That each branch of the three estates *must* be independent of the rest—And that the Crown *can* never interfere with the deliberations of Parliament. The lie direct was given both to the *must* and the *can*. For the House of Lords *was not* independent, and the Crown *did palpably* interfere.

OBSERVE how much they accomplished in this act—They overturned an obnoxious Administration, formed one exactly suitable to their own views, and demonstrated the imposture of these two primary maxims.

For *centuries* it has been thought, that the King's discretion in appointing Ministers was governed by the opinion of the House of Commons; and *since the revolution*, it has

has been received like positive law. The repugnance of this rule to all the objects of the King's friends, on the face of it, shews the necessity of its total extinction. In this persuasion, the soul of the doctrine was attacked in *argument*, and in *fact* it was utterly done away, for whilst the Commons were loading the Ministry with censure upon censure, the King was loading them and their connections with honours and emoluments.

A REFORM of the House of Commons has been for some time popular in this country. If by any miracle that scheme should take place and that the House of Commons *continued* to preserve its weight in our system, the reader must see the total inefficacy of all the efforts of the King's friends against the Constitution. Persuaded of this, they attacked the popular branch with so signal a spirit, so compleatly disgraced its privileges, and established its debility and contempt, in a manner so decisive and exemplary, that if the most fascinating theory of the wisest of these reformers were adopted tomorrow, not the least foundation is there of an apprehension from the authority of the Lower House, or its resistance to the laudable operations of the King's Friends. And the beauty of this achievement was, that the degradation of the Commons was principally effected by the aid and concurrence
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of the most furious of these reformers. The project indeed existed for some time.

THAT great and good man, (whose absence from our public counsels would be irreparable, if his genius did not inspire the Ministry) the Earl of Shelburne, has made an early figure in this essential part of this great undertaking. That unparalelled statesman told the House of Lords,* that an old man, who lived ever since Queen Anne's time, *actually declared*, "that the Commons had gained *too much* in the scale of the Constitution!" Who this old man was we never heard, but his opinion proves him a wise old man—A good old man he must be, for he was Lord Shelburne's friend!

By the practice and theory of this Constitution, (for this is one of the few instances where they do not vary) the two Houses have certain authorities, independent of each other and distinct from their legislative functions. The Lords have a dernier and final power of judication. The Commons the power of granting the public money.

MONEY is the sinew of civil operations; abilities and ingenuity are fruitless without it. What success could the King's friends expect whilst this great right remained intangible in the House of Commons? They

* UPON a motion of his own in May 1783, recommending, "that in augmenting the public debt, care should be taken to lessen it."

began accordingly with *dividing* it, as the surest method of taking it away altogether in due time.

THE debate upon Lord John Cavendish's loan discovered the first *serious* proof of this great design. The Peers Shelburne, Thurlow, Richmond, and several of the minor class of these illustrious confederates, in the plainest language denied this privilege of the Commons. They declared its assumption to be an *usurpation*, and asserted *their equal* power of originating money bills whenever they pleased. This was only a prelude to the grand scenes that succeeded.

BEFORE the Christmas recess of 1783, the House of Commons resolved an *opinion* concerning the exercise of a *discretionary* power in the Board of Treasury touching a particular branch of *money*. The House of Lords in some time after declared that this resolution of the Commons was a breach of the law of the land and agreed in a string of motions, the substance of which was, a direct charge upon the Lower House of *violating the Constitution*, in giving their *opinion* concerning this *discretion* in the Treasury upon the subject of *money*. The Lords used no manœuvre, no intrigue, no underhand trick in this business, but openly, and in the face of day, published this gallant corollary of that celebrated resolution of the Long Parliament,

Parliament, which declared the House of Lords useless.

Two great ends were gained to the *King's friends* in this business. The fundamental principles of the House of Commons were cut up by the roots, and the fallacy of our system was demonstrated in this proof of the doubtfulness and incertitude of Parliamentary Rights,—when in the year 1784 one branch solemnly proclaims that the other branch had broken the law of the land and violated the Constitution, in doing *that which has been their constant practice for a thousand years*—NEVER QUESTIONED, NEVER DISPUTED BEFORE THAT MOMENT.

THERE is now no impediment to the execution of all the money transactions of this nation in the Upper House; and perhaps, Lord Ferrers, who is a master in finance and a friend to the King's friends, may open *his* budget this winter in that august assembly, if indeed he can spare time from the improvement of the navy.

THUS having confirmed, that the Commons of England had not half the influence of the Common Council of London, upon the situation of a Minister—and having deprived them of their vaunted power, of *granting money*, there remained only to degrade their moral character to the lowest extremity. In this the success of the King's friends was marvelous.

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THE majority that condemned the ministry was one hundred and thirty, before the recess. But by the abilities of *him* "wondrous him, that miracle of men!" By the magic aid of that immaculate man, who, although now covered with infamy by blind unthinking people, although the rashness of this generation may stamp him as the vilest and basest of mankind, will live to be the idol of futurity, and will go down to the after ages; steered in immortality—I mean Jack Robinson:

---By him the rustiness of the commons was so refined, their passions so purged; their pride so tamed, the conquests of the *faction* grew so fruitless, and all their glories so faded, that in the short space of two months this majority that would scale Heaven, was so pared down, that the tottering fabrick of this destructive Constitution was upheld only by the solitary vote of an *individual*, and he was not an Atlas.---The generous John Elewes*.

DURING this struggle no part of the ordinary business of the nation was transacted. The Commons sat only to waste their animal spirits in voting censures upon the ministry. The Lords sat only to vote the Commons a parcel of scoundrels. Vanquished in

*MR. ELEWES sometimes voted with the Ministry and sometimes against them. His Judgment happened to vibrate with the opposition when the famous representation of the commons was carried by a majority of *one*.

their own victories, the *faction* at length called upon the King's friends to bring forward the King's business, and pledged themselves not to oppose it. The majority being thus reduced, the first thing looked for was a motion to rescind the resolutions that condemned the Administration.---For even *then* the existence of the Votes of censure and of the ministry was deemed incompatible, such is the force of constitutional idolatry!

HERE I feel my incapacity to do justice to the King's friends. This fatal contaminating constitution had much to plead in its behalf. Its age—our success—our national renown under it—habits of attachment that grew into enthusiasm—These made its demolition a stupendous undertaking. The hazard of the attempt—the infamy, the ruin of its miscarriage, naturally induced suspicions of the seriousness of Ministry. But their conduct in this great crisis dispelled all doubt, and they stood confessed the chosen few, destined by Providence to redeem this nation from its present pernicious Government—the mighty magicians that were to burst that enchantment, which kept our forefathers chained in the bondages of civil liberty!!

To rescind the resolutions—no—that were to restore things to their ancient level and to re-establish that damnable doctrine that the opinion of the Commons could in any degree affect the ministry. That indeed, were
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a direct controversion of this auspicious project and plunging us back into all the horrors of the constitutional system again. The Minister's majority in the new house is near 200, and to crown the degradation of the democratic branch, the resolutions still stand upon their journals, in statu quo, a staring image of their own disgrace and a splendid monument to the admiring world of the rapid progress of human reason and the signal victories it has acquired in so short a time in these Islands, over that mountain of prejudice and bigotry which grew out of the very texture of the English constitution!!

As if apprehensive that the Commons might obliterate this living symbol of their shame, the King's friends took the most infallible method to prevent it. After the house declared a determination to forward the public business the wisdom was evident of dropping all business of every kind, and when the contempt of the Commons was recorded and established, the natural fate of such an assembly befel them. They were sent packing like a set of reprobates round that country, "from whose bourne so few of them returned,"—They were dissolved.

I AM prepared to meet all the objections of the Whigs, to the dissolution (apologizing to the reader at the same time for descending to notice the snarling of that vile *façtion*.)

IN the first place, they say it was wicked to

dissolve the Parliament, because the King solemnly pledged himself not to dissolve it. The very nature of this objection is the strongest justification of the measure. That his Majesty pledged himself from his throne *against* it, is surely the best of all reasons *for* it. Even a King of France, adds the *faction*, *so* committed to the most paltry Parliament in any of his Provinces, would sooner have died than sully his honour by such a breach of faith. Perhaps he might, and in that very view, the dissolution has tenfold merit. Imitation without improvement is despicable, and in the effort to give his subjects those blessings which our neighbours derive from their sovereigns, it is surely much to his Majesty's glory to have discovered new capabilities in royalty. That no other King dare venture such a deed, is, without question, its brightest eulogy.

The second objection is "that an angry
 " dissolution has no precedent since the time
 " of the Stewarts, that it was in fact against
 " the *spirit* of the Constitution. If the pre-
 " rogative of dissolving Parliaments, ap-
 " pointing Ministers, creating Nobles, &c.
 " was to be exerted at the mere *caprice* and
 " *pleasure* of the Prince, our ancestors
 " would never have lodged in the chief
 " Magistrate so monstrous an authority."
 What our ancestors would *not* have done, I know not, but I know what they *have* done. *They have lodged this power in the King*—By
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the law he has as defined a right to appoint any Minister or dissolve any Parliament as you or I to hire or discharge a footman. Which of us in private life would not deem it rank insolence, if any person should say, you ought to have Paul and Peter for your Cook and Butler, because we think they are good servants. The King's prerogative is perfectly clear and distinct. What has he to do with the *spirit*, when the *letter* of the law is as plain as day-light? Has he the power?—Why is it given him?—“Why place a barren Sceptre in his hand?”

THAT an angry dissolution has no precedent since the revolution proves nothing but a want of spirit in the Princes. The sovereign's uniform accession to the wish of Parliament has been our bane. We had else long since been happy, and the labour of exposing the deformities of this Constitution had otherwise never rested upon me; for the whole of the vile fabric had been humbled with the earth before I was born. Further, says the *faction*, “the Empire has flourished in commerce, dominion and national glory, much beyond any other period of our annals, since this understanding has prevailed between our Princes and Parliament”—Worse and worse. It is not the interest of any wise Government, that its subjects should be very rich. Wealth begets wantonness, and the judicious examples of other kingdoms de-

monstrate the necessity of occasional wars, famines and lesser scourges, to stabilitate the Government and to preserve the people in that due tone of obedience which is the certain source of *their own content*.

So much for the clamours of the *façion*—now for the *real motives* of the dissolution. Little minds form low judgments, and narrowing the late dissolution to the measure of such mean ends is very characteristic of the groveling capacity of the Whigs; but we are not to credit a slander which imputes to the Ministry, such a suspicious moderation. A parliament enlightened into a liberal conviction of the necessity of supporting the King's friends in all they should propose was requisite beyond question, to complete this great affair. Yet was *this*, I am persuaded, the very smallest motive to it. The uniform aim of the King's friends, is to open the eyes of mankind to the folly and fallacy of this Constitution.

THERE is a set of men in this country, who maintain, that the sense of the people can *only* be known in the House of Commons: to those the dissolution gave a positive contradiction, for their sense *before* and *after* this event, differs as widely as light from darkness. Another class there is, who contend, that the sense of the people never *is* nor ever *can* in its present shape be collected in that House. His Majesty overturned this doctrine

trine too, for he proclaimed his joy at the appeal he had made to the sense of his people; and for the first time of his reign, confessed that his people spoke very good sense.

UNTIL the wicked principles of this Constitution are as palpable as day light;—until its numberless impostures are seen and confessed—until the nation thoroughly understands the vicious ground on which Parliaments stand; the annihilation of our Parliamentary system will not be endured; short of which we can never be a happy nation. The dissolution went a great way to the attainment of these blessings.

NONE of our civil quackeries is more prevalent than an overstrained affectation of *purity* in all the departments of our system; steeped up to the chin though we are at the same time in all the vileness of gross corruption. It is a breach of privilege even to *suppose* that any man sits in Parliament by foul means—and to believe that five out of seven get there by fair means would be consummate idiotism.* I am not disputing the benefits of bribery, (its blessings, thank God,

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* THIS Parliamentary bashfulness reminds me of Henry the Eighth. In a day or two after that good Prince beheaded Anne Bulleyne, he began to think she was innocent; and soon after passed a law, making it death to *suspect* the Queen's virtue. After the discovery of Catherine Howard's irregularities he passed a law, making it death to *conceal* the Queen's levities—without repealing one word of the former law. At the same time

are sacred and secure) my wish, in an humble pursuit of the example of the Ministry, is to display the knavery of the Constitution.

It is meet to bribe the people into a proper choice of representatives for they could otherwise never select fit Members. Government is the most capable of guiding the electors in such a season of doubt, and its good effects are manifest from this fact, that in the space of a century no Minister has been in a minority in a *new* Parliament. Every general Election is supposed to cost Government a couple of millions, and no man denies the necessity of this under our present Constitution—but it is a mischievous Constitution that imposes so desperate a necessity. And I am satisfied, that in forcing upon the public the vast expences of the late dissolution,---under that immediate pressure of exigencies,---the vast load of debt, funded and unfunded,---the

time he passed another law, making it high treason for any woman to marry the King who was not a *virgin*. The King conceived himself skilful in these distinctions but was sometimes mistaken, as I am told a wise man might be. The two first laws left his subjects in a strange difficulty and the last reduced his wives to a fate seemingly harder (considering that the proof could only be a matter of opinion to all but the Lady herself) Still it is a question, which fare'd worst, his male or female subjects. Henry had no trial by jury, for that great Prince had a good idea of things in general. He erected a tribunal of Lords, Bishops and Judges, and his trials never failed as the reader will recollect. He could hang a subject as Nero did, because his looks displeated him. For no better reason perhaps, he quieted so many of his Queens. A refusal of marriage was insamy and compliance was something more than a *chance* of death. *Utrum horum major accipe.*

diminution

diminution of revenue,---the contraction of resources,---the decline of credit,---the fall of stock, --and a national bankruptcy staring us in the face, the King's friends by that ingenious expedient, meant to beget in the people a hatred of our civil system and to prepare them to bear its speedy downfall without a sigh.

A THOUSAND advantages of a lesser size, call for angry dissolutions of Parliament. Election contests would beggar the factions that oppose the government. Expences would discourage, and defeats dishearten them. Even their victories would prove fatal. Success would animate them to frequent conflicts. A series of struggles would exhaust them by degrees, until convinced of their disparity for such a warfare, they would abandon the field in despair, and leave the King's friends peace and leisure to mould a fit form of Government for this country, at their own discretion.

DISSOLUTIONS would encrease their power---Tumults always invigorate the arm of Government and in such seasons a Minister can best display his capacity. He can raise a riot with the King's money, and quell it with the King's army. Sober men would be shocked at the licence of elections and perhaps submit to servitude, to be secured from outrage. Good men, or men so called, would be disgusted with the profligacy of new Parliaments,

Parliaments, (whose devotion to the current Minister is infallible) and by a frequent evidence of their turpitude, may wish the final downfall of such a certain source of vileness. Men of the world oppressed by that increase of taxes, consequent upon such events, and prevented the fair produce of their avocations by confusion and disorder, would adopt any alternative in preference to such an evil.---Thus from the mixed effect of the indolence, the honesty, and the avarice of mankind; repeated dissolutions (timed to seasons of distress and distraction) might bring the nation into such a humour, that in some lucky hour the whole fabrick of the Constitution may be erased to the ground.

If the Commons at any future time should resist the King's favorites, a hint of a dissolution is an admirable key to keep them in time. The certainty of expence, the uncertainty of success upon a fresh election, will powerfully incline them to compliance; but if *determined* to oppose, the course is obvious—Raise an army of petitioners and then dissolve the Parliament. Every government can procure favourable addresses at any time with the utmost facility. Richard Cromwell received just ninety addresses as the rightful heir of the empire,—about six weeks before he shrunk into nothing; and most of the towns, counties, and
 corpora-

corporations in the kingdom, plighted their loyalty, with their lives and fortunes, to James the Second---a few months before they banished him.

But what if the people should decry a future House of Commons for fervility to the Court, as they did the last for resistance? Then the reigning Prince has only to look to the conduct of George the Third, and he will furnish him with a mountain of precedents—"He cannot listen to their petitions, whilst his faithful Commons think otherwise!" The full tide of twenty-three years practice will tell him, that the People of England, *out* of the House of Commons, deserve just as much notice from the Crown, as the people of Liliput—opposed by nothing but the miraculous instance of 1784.

In short, so admirably does the late dissolution operate, that the King's friends can whenever they please, separate that body which the Constitution pretends to be inseparable, and at any time so play the *parliament* and *people* against each other, that if the Lower House should not be happily demolished in toto, it is reduced to a pitch of debility and disgrace that fortunately renders it nearly tantamount to annihilation—and so auspicious is the promise from this brave example, that the Ministry can, even under our present form of government, bless us with all the benefits which neighbouring nations

nations enjoy from the lucky extinction of freedom and the judicious surrender of these obnoxious liberties into the hands of their Sovereigns, which are the source of endless calamities to this devoted island.

So much for the accession of the present Ministry to power and the measures that succeeded it—the dissolution and the motives to it.

HOT MEN, with eager fancies, imagine that the whole of this iniquitous parliamentary system might have been destroyed in the late ferment of the public had the King's friends been as bold as their numberless advantages in the struggle would have born them out in. That the very name of Parliament was blotted from our remembrance, is the cordial wish of my heart; but I am convinced that any other course than the course adopted by the King's friends, had been to risk this great scheme by a rash and over-vaulting zeal.

THE wisdom is infinite of making the imposing ceremonies of this system the very instruments of its overthrow. Parliament alone can destroy itself and through that channel only can we expect the accomplishment of this mighty undertaking. The final ruin of so cumbrous a system cannot be effected at once. The work must be done gradually to insure success. And the reader will find

find that the King's friends pursued the object with skill and spirit and decision.

THE English Constitution has vested in the people three peculiar and marked rights, upon which they have valued themselves more than by all their other civil possessions. Those rights are: *the Liberty of the Press—the Trial by Jury—the Right of Representation*. From the cradle to the grave we are plagued with the praises of these curses of our system. Pride, folly, and madness have, upon many occasions, forced the people to declare they would sooner perish than part with either of them: nor is it surprising, for they are the three main hinges on which the machine of the Constitution depends. Had the King's friends, replete with all the authorities requisite for the attempt, and in the full plenitude of power, left these rights untouched, I should be the first to declare them as blind to the vices of this Constitution, as insensible to the blessings of a simple Monarchy, as their predecessors in office. But they have bravely vindicated themselves from all suspicion.

A LION preys not upon carcases: scorning the conquest of only *one* of them and sensible how dangerous is the escape of an accomplice, who might recruit and revenge the fall of a confederate, the King's friends in the short space of six weeks gallantly attacked this entire phalanx of privileges.

THE

THE liberty of the press is a grievance of the first magnitude. Unless it be wholly abolished, unless the wittol advocates for the English Constitution, are deterred from opposing the Ministry by the multitude and severity of penal examples; all hopes of success to the GREAT CAUSE are utterly delusive. Aware of its influence, the Administration made the boldest effort for its complete overthrow that can be found in the records of legislation.

THINGS were not quite mature for attacking the press in England, where people are still under some infatuations in favor of it, the push was made in Ireland, where the enterprize was singularly favoured by a concurrence of circumstances. One of the principal Ministers, Mr. John Foster, (a Gentleman whose frame of mind and tenor of principles prove, that he has right notions of the true kind of government)---brought a bill into the Irish House of Commons, so remarkably well adapted to the exigency, that if passed into a law as the Ministry sketched it out, the Irish, and by this time perhaps the English, would have all the benefits of the French government regarding the press, where a ballad cannot be published without the King's permission.

To facilitate its progress, effectual care was taken that the most inflammatory and odious libels should appear every day in the
streets

streets of Dublin, and they were circulated through the kingdom at no small expence. The substance of one of the clauses will shew that the bill was ample and comprehensive.

Every Justice of the Peace throughout the kingdom, shall be impowered to take up and commit to Bridewell for six months, any person who should be found selling, dispersing, circulating, or publishing any advertisement, paragraph, newspaper, book, pamphlet, or publication, which he the Justice should deem a libel. But alas, this excellent clause was thrown out by the Committee. *Telum imbelle sine ictu coniecit.* Our dearest gratitude however is due to the Ministry, for "what men dare, they dared;" all their influence in the sister kingdom appeared in the supporters of this bill and all their ingenuity in the title of it. What do you think they called it?—"A Bill to secure the Liberty of the Press." Nations are like children and will swallow poison if gilded with a good name. The freedom of the press might be truly called the *neck* of the Constitution, without which it cannot breathe, and in this great experiment, the Ministry meant to execute the famous theory of Caligula, who wished the Roman people had but one neck, that he might cut them off with a *single blow*. Had this bill passed in its original state, I leave the reader to judge, whether the Constitution was not as effectually cut off as the Roman

Roman people would have been, had their Emperor's pious wish been realized.

THE *second* of these rights was attacked here among ourselves, under the same gloss and colour. The Irish Chancellor of the Exchequer attempts the subversion of the liberty of the press, under the banner of "a *Bill to secure it.*"—The English Chancellor of the Exchequer achieves the overthrow of the *trial by jury*, and at the same moment extols the trial by jury to the skies. This second right the reader must know, has been held so sacred and precious by our absurd ancestors, that it has been the first privilege they demanded of their Kings after the various changes of our government in the early ages of our history. The religion of the people impressed not a warmer love of the Deity, than their civil code taught reverence for this very right. Yet such is the progress of improvement upon our minds, so rapidly are our bigotries vanishing, so quick are the strides of conviction upon our understanding, and so generally enlightened are we become, that this trial by Jury has been given up (bating some factious opposition in the House of Commons) with as little concern and as profound an indifference by the body of the public, as if it had been an inclosure bill.

BUT

BUT were juries annihilated in the trial of offences committed in England?—No!—It only related to our possessions in India, where more crimes are perpetrated in seven days, than in the rest of the Empire in seven years.

THE third is the *right of representation*.

THE *very first* proceeding of the new parliament proves, that the people really have no such right, and promotes THE CAUSE as decisively as if the custom of calling parliaments was laid aside altogether. The Westminster scrutiny (the proceeding to which I allude) is pregnant with a thousand advantages. The King calls a House of Commons for the dispatch of urgent concerns upon a fixed day. To dispatch these concerns they must *meet*. Now meet they cannot, for the returning officer will not suffer them. Why?—Because he cannot tell which is the greater number, *two* or *one*. What then is to become of the *urgent concerns*?—No matter. This determination you observe, as to law and principle, is tantamount to the positive denial of this *right of representation*. But the great virtue of the decision consists in its overturning doctrines by wholesale, which have been revered for ages in this wicked constitution. It proves that the people may be bound by laws *not of their own making*: That they must pay taxes to which *they did not consent*. It makes election a farce, and a popular choice the means of having no choice

at all. The King's friends went far to serve us in the Middlesex case, but the obstacle is prodigious if the *return of members be once made*. Wilkes's character was the chief incitement to that feat, but we lost the use of the precedent, for the universe could not produce Wilkes's match. The *manner* of the thing was vile, but here it was admirable.—The *candidate of the court* has only to tell the *officer of the court*, that his adversary had bad votes, and the whole is done at once. *This is the law of England*, and the principle is universal in its operation, whether the case be Westminster or West Loo.

BUR, say the enemy,—“ This decision is
 “ a direct violation of law, constitution, jus-
 “ tice, equity, reason, and common sense—
 “ it is a direct breach of the statute of Ed-
 “ ward III. Henry VI. William III. and in
 “ all the law books, records of parliaments;
 “ reports, cases, compilations; in short from
 “ the foundation of our history, *not one pre-*
 “ *cedent* can be found for this base decision.”
 To all this I answer, so much the better. Scruples about laws and musty precedents would little become the King's friends, lifted to the pinnacle of authority.* That would have been as if Oliver Cromwell had not cut off the King's head, after sweating at every pore to have the power of doing it.

* THE same rapid and decisive spirit was shown upon the Bedfordshire question.

OTHER motives are attributed to this decision. The exclusion of Fox from Westminster, and a zeal to oppress him, are said to be the chief inducements. Private rancour and personal revenge are undoubtedly very laudable incitements to a public measure, and admitting that the King's friends had not designs more dignified, and aims more enlarged—granting for argument, that the Westminster scrutiny was not meant as an instrument of our deliverance from this pernicious constitution, I am convinced that even those vulgar views which are imputed to the ministry carry with them an unanswerable vindication.

It has been the very extremity of insolence in Fox to sit for Westminster, in defiance of the King's friends ! the first city of the kingdom ! the seat of empire ! the fountain of authority ! in the heart of which, his majesty expends about a million a year ! These considerations are serious ; but the success of this daring man was of a tenfold mortification in the late contest.—It falsified the assertions of his unpopularity, when every quill that worked for the ministry, was died in gall to blacken him. The mischief was greater still, for this inference followed—that where *he* and *his enemies* were *best known*, the balance of public claim was as much in *his* favour, as it was in *their* favor where *each* were *personally strangers* and where a line of unadulterated fact scarce ever reaches. The

current opinion of ministerial imposture and public insanity, were greatly strengthened by it without dispute.

BUT there is another light in which this scrutiny is compleatly justified. Impatience under defeat is natural, and the genius of human nature kicks against a rival's superiority in any thing. Great men, they say, are moved by great events—boys by trifles. Not content with having a majority upon the Westminster election, Fox *would have a triumph*, in the manner of which, the impudence of the *faction* exceeded all decency. As if their only aim was to satirize the minister's visit to the city, the whole procession seemed an insult and personal mortification to him, and by their own picture, (which I shall give the reader) the resentment of the court will appear wise and proper.

“ WHATEVER this country contains of high nobility, ancient blood, rank, reputation and fortune,—whatever it boasts of splendid inheritance, titles that dignify, because they were deserved, and virtue unquestioned from a variety of trials.—Whatever has elevated, and still retains us in characters of respect, distinction, and fame with other nations.—All that shine most eminent and reflect glory and grace upon their country, in arts, arms, science, learning, ability.—The great, who are truly so because they are good, the little, who are respectable because they are independent.—Men in humble walks,
who

who assert the native dignity of Englishmen, by an unbought adherence to the object of their choice—men in high stations, whose conduct inspires, whose manners cherish that sentiment, and whose cordial intercourse with those placed by fortune far below them, encourage and fortify that system of principles which impart an equal blessing to the peer and the peasant.—The noblest names in English history, Howards, Cavendish's, Bentincks, Spencers, Stanleys, Fitzwilliams, &c. those whose ancestors lavished their blood and property in defending this country from foreign enemies, and native traitors, who under various struggles, from various causes, rescued the nation from oceans of perils, into opulence, security, and renown.—Even they who depend for their stations upon the sovereign's will (the officers of his own guards, as if their master's livery blushed something hostile to the first duties of an Englishman) changed their standard upon this day, and sunk the soldier in the citizen *at all its hazards*. Thus constituted was this procession, and such are the men who boasted loyalty to such a leader.

“ AND if yet higher the proud list should end.”—

If any thing was yet wanting to complete its splendor—The first subject of the realm flushed with joy in such a cause, bore his part with eagerness, and thought his great

character still more exalted, in fanning that generous flame, that raised his own illustrious family to the glory of governing such a people."

I HAVE given this picture as the faction paint it. Heightened it is without doubt, but still the subject was a reasonable ground of noble and just jealousy in our matchless minister, whose notable cavalcade to Grocers-hall, becomes, upon review of both, the meekest burlesque that ever damped the pride of young ambition. The scene, the circumstance, the champions render a comparison inevitable. Alas!—our cousins of *Buckingham* and *Mahon*.---*Sidney* the sapient and candid *Camelford*! * a city job with John Wilkes! and a chosen troop of active infantry (to illumine the darkened domes of senseless Westminster at night) who scoured the shops at their return, as nimble as Falstaff's battalion scoured the hedges in his memorable march to Coventry!

EVEN *this* view of things justifies the scrutiny—all my dread is, that its issue will not answer. The choice of the bailiff's *council* was a fatal mistake. Is a man bigotted to truth from principle, to rectitude from sentiment, to genius from sympathy,—disqualified by acute feelings, with as sharp a sense of honor, and a conscience of his own

as

* THESE comprised the retinue of Mr. Pitt to Grocers-hall.

as clear and unblemished, as if he had never opened his lips to the keeper of the King's conscience, or had never guided the conscience of the King's High Bailiff---fit for *such a business*?---FRANCIS HARGRAVE the director of *Mr. Thomas Corbett*! This I fear was an irreparable slip.*

No people ever reached the blessings of slavery without their own co-operation. In a complex form, like ours, this GREAT CAUSE cannot be promoted without a confederacy of persons high in the people's esteem. The favorite faction in this country has generally been the Whig faction. To these, the King's friends have occasionally dealt out the public administration, but always managed their duration in office with so nice an œconomy, that in the twenty-five years of this prosperous reign, the *longest* Whig administration has barely exceeded *one year*, though they were four times employed. The King found the government in their hands upon his accession---but he soon dismissed their chief (Lord Chatham) and the rest followed him. The next was Lord Rockingham (began in July 1765 ended in July 1766) The third in 1782 (commenced in March, perished in July.) The

* THE agents of the ministry have lately made a most bold and frontless push to get rid of Mr. Hargrave, and they will certainly succeed.

last in 1783 (born in April, died in December.) From all these explosions the King's friends gathered up *some* fragments which strengthened their own building---But all their former acquirements are nothing compared with the diamonds they picked up in the last of these wrecks. Lord North's coalition with Mr. Fox *had infallibly sunk this island in the ocean*, if the grace of Heaven had not sent Pitt to save us! A mortal Messiah! the missionary of Providence! the light of lights! the sun of suns! the fountain of lumination! the chosen gift of God!---Not the Maid of Orleans to the French, not the Maid of Kent to the English, not Beckett to Bigots, not Mahomet to Ottomans, not Jack of Leyden to Anabaptists, not the Regal touch or Papal toe to infidelity and infection, were half so holy, half so healing, half so divine, as William Pitt to this nation!

Nil oriturum alias, nil ortum tale fatentes.

IN Egypt he had ranked with Sesostris, in China with Confucius. Hecatombs had bled for him in Greece, and temples sprung up for him in Rome. Socrates had no wisdom, Seneca no morals, Cicero no eloquence, Cæsar no spirit, Simon no cunning, Achilles no strength, Ulyssès no craft, compared to him. Modern ministers melted before him, like shadows before the sun. The genius of Fox, the judgment of Vergennes, the experience

rience of Kaunitz, shrunk beside his matchless merit. All that Europe boasts, except himself, were dupes and drivellers. The simplicity of the ancient, the refinement of the modern world---the capacity of elder, the ingenuity of latter times---the amiableness of the golden, the burnish of the brazen, the apathy of the iron age, all centered in his sweet person. He was not only faultless in his conduct, but without a faulty particle in his nature.---Not only inimitable, but infallible. He had not *all* the qualities of the Trinity, but he fell little short of them.—He was a boy with an angel's faculties and a man with the attributes of a divinity. He was listened to like an oracle. All other doctrines were apocryphal, and his were holy writ. His opinion was law, his nod judgment, his word fate.---In short, if Charles Jenkinson had sat at the right hand of Jove, with the full command of both his urns, not a change would he have made in William Pitt, or in the English nation---

I NEED not tell the reader the value of such an ally to the King's friends, and to do them justice, they made the most of him. If in the compass of the one year he be not worn threadbare, it is a miracle. As prodigal of his own character as of the constitution, he was the first in all the breaches of this tottering system, and urged his bold career with an intrepid contempt for every consideration.

But

Bur was all this adoration on the youth's own account you would ask—O no—much for himself but more for his father. *Pater et filius patre dignus*; and this is the more remarkable as for the twelve years that preceded his father's death, the nation left him withering in obscurity, nor ever once enquired why he lay mouldering;

“ But still the crowd have kindness in reserve ;

“ They help'd to *bury* whom they help'd to *starve*.”

It is not *our* business however, who see with open eyes the vicious deformities of this constitution to scrutinize the sources of our emancipation, provided we are relieved. Whether Pitt's popularity was the effect of sober reason or of insanity is indifferent to us, if the King's friends have turned it to a proper account.— That they have done so, the reader perhaps may think from what he *has* read— what he has *to* read will leave no doubt of it.

MR. PITT'S LIFE has been a short one, and previous to his late exaltation, has afforded very little to make a fixed impression. The chief distinctions of his political character have been these—*that he began his career as a Whig—that he was an enemy to the influence of the Crown—that he detested political corruption—that he was devoted to parliamentary reform.*

A DERE-

A DERELICTION of all his professions and principles upon these several points is urged against him by the opposition as a *crime*; but in reality it is the essence of ministerial virtue. Tenacities for consistency, delicacy upon the score of principle, the fear of infamy from running counter to the whole tenor of his recorded declarations, had all been fatal obstacles to the success of the GREAT CAUSE. Luckily however there are no such obstacles, and in shewing that his enemy's reproaches are in this instance well founded, the reader will understand that I am bearing testimony to some of the noblest features in this illustrious young man's character, and proving his right to *our* affections and confidence.

THAT he commenced a Whig is doubtless. But I leave the reader to judge, whether Sir William Dolben might not just as well be accused of copying the model of John Hampden, as William Pitt of Whiggism at this time.—That he was a professed enemy to the influence of the Crown is doubtless likewise. Let the *India Bill* attest his conversion from that coarse way of thinking.---

THE third charge supposes him hostile to corruption. If bribery required vindication, my labours should not be wanting to display its merits. The cause could prosper in *no degree* unaided by this best of powers, and to impute to Mr. Pitt any enmity against it, would be just as reasonable as charging *Hill* with wit, or *Rolle* with good manners. The
annals

annals of the world cannot surpass his present Majesty's reign in the boundless exercise of this first of virtues, and yet all its varied and multitudinous achievements fall short of the *single month of January 1784*. Then it was that the reveries of a great poet became actually realized :

“ Hear her black trumpet through the land
proclaim,
“ That *not to be corrupted* was the shame.”

It was always the fashion in *town*. At that time, however, it became the only recommendation in the *country* (as the new elections confirmed) and in working this susceptibility of the senate Sir Robert Walpole himself was a simpleton to this wonderful young man. There was such originality, such ingenuity, such orientality in the manner.—Sources were discovered so unthought of in all former exigencies—channels of influence so mysterious and unsuspected—fluices of venality so contrary to all imagining—such dexterity of seducement ! such rare and refined profligacy ! such polished prostitution ! In a word it was the *ne plus ultra* of this admirable science !

THE last of these accusations relates to the parliamentary reform. Sunk into contempt, as they have been, I hope no event will ever happen by which the commons will dare to assume any influence in the scale
of

of this government. A *meliorated* * reform, that is to say, a reform which should leave the House of Commons as much at the minister's devotion as it is at this moment, nay, if well managed, still more subservient than it is, might be a good bugbear to the people (whose aid in their own redemption from this noxious constitution is indispensable) and by the help of Mr. Wyvill's letters, which of course will assure the reformers in the country, that Pitt's scheme is the *best of all schemes*, might produce solid benefit to the ministry—but the experiment is hazardous after all. The least taste of reform may increase the public appetite for more, and nothing *can* be ventured that might risk the resurrection of the lower house.

THE first and fastest impression Mr. Pitt made upon his country has been by the reform of parliament. He figured in it with a most bewitching gallantry, and appeared as earnest in promoting it, as Cæsar in suppressing Cataline's plot. Twice in two years he has been in power, and all we heard from him touching the reform, during his ministry, was taunting those who brought it forward with envy and malice, or pouring showers of invective upon Lord North, *for*

* Mr. Wyvill's notable letter to the Secretary of the Edinburgh Committee says, that Mr. Pitt will now support a reform *honestly* and *boldly*, which by the way does *not* imply that his support of it hitherto has been deceit and knavery. Whether Pitt's aim is to repair his popularity by a *serious* hypocrisy, or to terrify his masters, a few weeks will develop. Either object is worthy of him.

fear

fear his lordship should freeze in his long declared opposition to that scheme. But the moment his ministry ceased, he relapsed back into the reform fever, and boiled and bubbled for its success, with as much ardour and inflammation as Henry Dundas himself, who is miraculously become a convert to this system, and like all converts, *is mad* for his new faith.

But John Bull (an animal of eternal good cheer) is consoled with the certainty of the minister's bringing forward the reform in person—He *will* indeed bring it forward, and the love I bear him forces me to bespeak the public notice to the minister-like qualities he will display on the occasion. He carried the Westminster scrutiny, it is true, and it is true that his *dead* majority is 200. *But the reform is a business upon which men will think for themselves.* Mr. Wilberforce will be brilliant in praise of his honourable friend's *sincerity*, and another dinner in Downing-street, may procure another pithy panegyric
from

* THIS requires explanation. Alderman Sawbridge in the month of July, called upon the minister to bring forward the reform. The minister sat silent.—The alderman said, as the minister would not bring it forward, *he* would, and gave a week's notice to the house of his motion.—When the day came several professed friends of the reform, and of the minister, begged he would postpone the motion for a few days, and urged the unfairness of that season to try the question. The alderman delayed the motion for another week, but contended that the time present was of all other the very best. * The reform was popular—the parliament was come hot from the people—the minister was pledged to the measure. The Westminster scrutiny proved that the house would go with him any length
when

from Mr. Milnes. * In short, Pitt will *propose* it—Pitt's friends will *reject* it—he will get rid of the business with a most technical eclat, and the whole nation *will be convinced*, that the reform is lost simply and certainly, *because he cannot help it*.

So much for *speculation*, now for *fact*. Let us cross the channel and behold our young minister combat this reform in the sister kingdom. I pass by his answer to the chairman of the Belfast meeting. A letter which only proves, that in Jesuitism even *Shelburne* was a *Shippen* to him, is beneath notice, when events of the rarest celebrity call forth our wonder.

THAT species of polity which does not scruple to cover nations with misery for the promotion of its own objects, (although reprobated by weak nerved people, as crooked and infamous) is the perfection of a statesman. Not into Machiavel would I look for its vindication, but into the heart of man, and the genius of human nature. Whilst

* *when he really wished it: all these advantages he was determined not to forego.*—Mr. Milnes (the member for York) in a private conversation with Mr. Sawbridge, applauded his perseverance, and urged him not to yield again to delay the motion on any terms, for that all the objections to it were farcical. In a few days after, when he made the motion, the friends of the ministry again contended, that the time was unreasonable, and great was the alderman's surprise to find *this very Mr. Milnes* most clamorous in the same opinion. This sudden change of sentiment is, however, accounted for when the reader hears, that *Mr. Milnes dined with Mr. Pitt at the Treasury house in Downing-street, a day or two before the motion was made.*

Lewis

Lewis IV. was slaughtering the protestants of France, he paid the protestants of Germany for maintaining their faith to the last gasp, in defiance of the Emperor, who was at the same time fertilizing his dominions with the blood of *his* protestant subjects.

WHILST the chambers of the Spanish inquisition were perfuming with the daily incense of heretical sacrifice, Philip's ministers animated the French heretics with money, and every other means of distracting their country, and of goading their Sovereign into the fatal measure to him and to themselves, of revoking the edict of Nantz. In these policies there was undoubted virtue! But what is their virtue compared with William Pitt's method of overturning the reform of parliament in Ireland?

THOSE were rival nations, eager and determined on the ruin of each other.

BUT for the governing minister to raise, or strive to raise, an insurrection among the governed, purely to prevent the success of a system, which system that very minister was solemnly pledged to promote, constitutes an event so new in civil science, and forms a political feature so super-excellent, that as it stands without a parallel in past times, it may be fairly said to defie the reach of future imitation.

THAT a civil war did not ensue, diminishes in no sense the merit of the ministry. All that desperate ingenuity, and a brave contempt

tēpt of consequences could do, they did. The Irish surrendered all other discontents:—not a heart panted, not a wish was uttered for any object *but a reform of parliament*. Great was the disease, but the remedy was greater. In the effort to set religion against religion, and by that means to set father against son, brother against brother, and friend against friend; the ministry provoked the revival of the most effectual of all animosities.—That which desolated Europe for two centuries, and had been at all times most fatal to the repose of mankind, could not fail to destroy the reform, because it must *divide the people* *.

TRUST and confidence between large bodies of subjects is always injurious to the *power* of government, and independent of subverting the reform by it, the policy was admirable of infusing the seeds of separation and discord among the Irish.

BUT the comprehensive soul of the minister grasped still more. “I will conquer *America in Germany*,” said the Earl of Chatham—I will cut up the *English reform* in *Ireland*! says the Earl of Chatham’s son †. In the

* See the addresses carried in Ireland by the ministry and their answers, through the Duke of Rutland, where a danger of subverting the protestant establishment is dextrously started *when the most cordial union subsisted between all the religions in that kingdom*.

† Whatever be the reader’s political complexion, I beseech, *I implore* him, to read the published speech of Mr. Pitt’s newly
D made

the prosecution of those who called meetings in Ireland, the worthy youth strikes at the foundation of those assemblies in England that still keep alive this phrenzy of reform;—assemblies that have in times past honoured himself upon this subject, but which, by the way, is a very statesmanlike reason for despising them at present.

THE skill of man can conceive nothing

made Chief Justice of the Irish King's-bench, Lord Earlsfort, where he will find these precious points affirmed to be the law of the land, not by quirk or subtlety, but in home spun intelligible terms.—1st. "*That the power of the county is the power of the crown.*"—2d. That the Sheriffs calling the people together peacefully and legally, "*is the most wanton oppression of the King's subjects.*"—3d. "*That a reformation of parliament is, as plain as words can speak, to overturn the religion and constitution of their country.*" 4th. That attachments are preferable to trials, because they are summary, because *the whole county is corrupted*, and no jury should be trusted—5th. (which is a most holy doctrine, and the echo of the British plan in destroying the trial by jury) that a trial by jury of such charges would be highly improper, "*because it would be running the hazard of corrupting witnesses, and TEMPTING A JURY TO PERJURE THEMSELVES.*" Here you see the foundation of this vaunted trial is subverted, root and branch,—for in every human litigation, there is a risk of perjury.

I know that constitutionalists may say this: If the published speech of the Irish Judge be spurious, *the publisher should lose his ears*—If it be genuine, the Judge *should lose his life*. The criminal justice of the country is endangered every hour that such a traitor to the constitution pollutes the bench; and the people, if they do not impeach him, are madmen, slaves, or cowards.—I am of a very different opinion, and it is a substantial cause of delight for us to reflect, that though the *British* bench is barren of *such* characters, the ministry have blessed the *Irish* with a Judge, who comprehends in his own person, the noblest faculties of a *Tresilian*, a *Scroggs*, a *Bacon*, and a *Jefferies*.

more

more exquisite than the policy of government in the affairs of Ireland. Beside the outrages so seasonably perpetrated in that country, they have contrived that the most frantic theories should be dispersed there, which enable them to propagate on this side of the water, that the Irish mean nothing short of *entire separation*. A cordiality between the two kingdoms had been fatal.— In that case nothing *could* prevent the success of the reform. The ministry have therefore most wisely sent forth this judicious calumny, to obviate all *fellow feeling*, and their manœuvres are luckily assisted by the most drunken stupidity on the part of the reformers themselves, both in Ireland and England.

SOME men will remark, no doubt, that the Irish (after casting away all other complaints and converging the whole of their grievances in *that single point*,) will, if *they relinquish the reform*, be the basest and vilest band of dastardly cowards that ever rendered a nation infamous.—It may be so, but that is no business of ours. If the minister subdues the reform *radically* in that kingdom, *our* boundless gratitude is due to him.

SINCE WE ARE YET constrained to endure the evil of parliamentary legislation, the next enquiry is, whether Mr. Pitt has profited of the public idolatry. If he has been a niggard in the uses of his fortune, and betrayed a

puffanimous moderation in the limitless power his good stars conferred upon him, it were undoubtedly criminal; but you will find he stands as guiltless of this imputation, as Scylla did when he became Dictator, and purified the streets of Rome with the blood of those who made him so.

THROUGHOUT the sessions, the minister kept his eye steadily upon THE CAUSE. Whatever is most hostile to the principles of this constitution, is traced and established in almost every measure he has introduced.

OUR system of government inculcates good faith, and at the same, a due œconomy towards the public creditors. The minister subverted the first in his conduct upon the *Navy bills*, and the second upon the *Ordinance debentures*. Public faith and public œconomy were spiritedly abandoned in both transactions. The taxes he has imposed, may, with truth, be called a compendium of *all* that is obnoxious to constitutional doctrines.—
 “ Though all the winds of heaven should
 “ enter the ragged cabin of the poorest pea-
 “ sant—the King shall not, the King dare
 “ not enter it,”—said the Earl of Chatham, in a speech reprobating *excise laws*. The meanest knave that cheats the public, to cheat the King, as an excise officer, not only *dares*, but *shall* enter and search, not merely every house, but every crevice of it, if he
 choose,

choose, says the Earl of Chatham's son, in the substance of a speech *establishing* excise laws.

THE *game acts* have generally been deemed a species of *forest laws*. Now, Mr. Pitt's game act has *no other* operation than nerving those laws with new energy. As a source of revenue it is long given up, but it possesses this mark of a great capacity, that all the skill of the kingdom combined, is unequal to its comprehension.—Too subtle and sublime for vulgar understandings, the only meaning on the face of it consists in stimulating men to persecute each other, by an unexampled encouragement to informers.

THE *commutation tax* is the burthen of every exclamation from Penzance to the Orkneys, and in that long district we are told there is but one opinion upon it (except at the Treasury and in Leadenhall-street.) I will not combat prejudice, but of this I am satisfied, that there is in the commutation tax something better for *us* than the best tax ever imposed by the best of men in the best of times,—persuading myself that our redemption from this cursed constitution, depends chiefly on the duration of the present minister's power and popularity, and feeling, convinced, that the man who laid *this tax*, and still continues (without much diminution of public or parliamentary influence) to be the finance minister of this country, may now with perfect safety attempt *any thing*.

THE affair of the *six regiments* shews something so characteristic of the ministry and so auspicious to *the cause*, that I must bring it to the reader's recollection.

KINGS love money and territory, but they love the army still better—because an army will never want bread whilst they wear bayonets, and in any struggle between the Monarch and his subjects their arguments are wonderful convincing. The emancipation of kingdoms from liberty to servitude has seldom been achieved without them, and hence the love of Princes, and the jealousy of free States for standing armies. Our silly constitution is so scrupulous on this head that we never vote a soldier, nor the money that pays him, nor the law that binds him, for more than one year. The *lower* a Minister reduced the military, the frowns of the crown, or the favours of the people have in common calculation been *proportionably* dealt to him, and the choice of his patron of course depended on his own discretion.

THE business before us will throw a strong light upon the late administration, and prove their arrogance in daring to presume that they possessed one spark of the honest confidence of George the Third.

THE first peace establishment of this reign was fixed under Lord Bute in 1763, at 70 regiments, each consisting of ten companies.

The

The second was in 1783, under the Duke of Portland, when the regiments were fixed at *sixty-four*, with only *eight* companies in each. By this last establishment the whigs would impudently deprive his majesty of *six* *regiments* together with 140 companies, and deprive the nation the pleasure of paying for them. Thus stood the arrangement when the King, to his eternal honour, dismissed the whigs.

MANY things there are very desirable to be done, which expedience prohibits. To fix the army upon the plan of Lord Bute in 1763, was an object devoutly to be wished, but it were an attempt of great delicacy. All that the matchless youth could safely do, he did. Since he could not directly restore the old establishment, he reviled those who reduced it, and heartily eased himself of three or four lusty fits of invective against the whigs upon the occasion, loudly questioned their sincerity in lessening the national expences, and so forth.

OF the officers of the regiments reduced by this arrangement many had purchased at advanced prices, presuming that they would not be reduced at the peace. Their case was considered by the House of Commons a hard one, and the whig Secretaries of State* and of the war department said, they certainly

* MESSRS. Fox and Fitzpatrick.

intended to provide for them. The provision was, to *second* them upon the army in general, and allow them full pay until they were promoted; employing them in the mean while upon the recruiting service. Their own regiments were of course to be disbanded. This method was very unpalatable to the King's friends, for two excellent reasons,—because the *military should not be reduced* on any terms, and because *seconding* these officers *deprived them of the army patronage*, until these officers were provided for.

THE Ministry consulted for several days upon the business. At length their sagacious Secretary at War informed the House of Commons, that the officers would be completely satisfied if they were allowed full pay for six months longer, and he accordingly moved the money. Upon an official declaration that full pay for *six months* would *completely satisfy* those, who expected it *for life* the House had only to wonder. The House did wonder greatly, but not half so much as upon hearing in a day or two after, by authority of the officers themselves, that in the Secretary's *official information*, *there was not one syllable of truth*. Suffice it to tell the reader, that the present Ministry adopted a course the direct reverse of their predecessors. They have *preserved the army patronage* complete to themselves.—Not one of the
 officers

officers is to be *seconded*.—The nation pays for the whole body (*for the sake of giving full pay to the officers*) and the six entire regiments are ready for any exigency at the call of the King's friends. Yet there are men who affect to wonder at the steps which the best of Kings has taken to overthrow the whigs!

THOSE WHO THINK as I do of the English constitution (and to those alone I write) must see the intrinsic excellence of all Mr. Pitt's measures in the last sessions, but his *manner* enhances his merit considerably. Hitherto the presumption has been, that when a plan is solemnly proposed by a Minister of State, it is deliberately considered, digested with skill, and enriched with the various informations accessible to government. But in this method there are two leading defects—first it must be very troublesome to the minister—secondly, it is treating Parliament with a respect utterly repugnant to the promotion of THE CAUSE.

THESE defects were admirably remedied by Mr. Pitt. Excepting where the constitution was aimed at, his measures *going out of, and coming into*, the House of Commons have not the faintest trace of similitude. They become radically and solidly the reverse of what they *have been*. But was not all this concession, good humour, facility, accommodation? --- O fie, no. Such dispositions were fatal to us.

HE

HE proposes a specific plan upon a specific day. The genius of man can conceive nothing more perfect, and he is resolved not to abandon one principle. In debate it appears not quite so perfect---it turns out a heap of nonsense, and in a few days after he brings it down transformed into a new shape. Nothing can equal the *new shape*: he cannot be persuaded to alter a line, and he gallantly taunts its opposers for ignorance and absurdity. A fresh discussion shews fresh deformities. The *same* plan comes again a week after perhaps, in *another* form, as distant from the second as the second from the first. An equal loftiness and contempt of the enemy accompany the third *entre*, and at length it is carried off the stage in all the flash of triumph---differing as widely from its original nature, as Pitt the son from Pitt the father.

THESE instances of superior capacity occurred I believe upon every *great* occasion throughout the sessions.

NOTHING HAS YET BEEN SAID of the India Company in the course of this pamphlet, for it were indecent to degrade them by blending their affairs with meaner matter. The majesty of the subject oppresses me, and I am really at a loss in what point of view first to contemplate them---whether as
men

men who, when our empire in Europe was abridging, exterminated whole nations in Asia, purely to extend our dominions---or as men who, when our military fame had been declining, swept off millions of the human race without any other impulse than the generous wish of preserving some balance of our reputation, and proving that English heroism flourished in India beyond the most vigorous examples in our history---or as men who, when we were sinking into a mediocrity of character, asserted our native energy in a series of judicious persecutions, provident oppressions, and the most wise and well-managed barbarities---or as men who, when we were weakening at home into a conceited reverence of treaties with other nations, nobly redeemed us from such unbecoming scruples by a spirited and gallant contempt of all ties, agreements, and engagements whatsoever---or as men who, when our government here became languid and passive, and suffered its subjects to remonstrate, counteract, and expostulate upon all occasions, gave us specimens of the true genius of sound policy by desolating kingdoms, expelling tributary princes like vagabonds, and seizing upon their *all*, for daring to plead the sanction of covenants and the right of treaties solemnly ratified---or as men, who when we were withering into obscurity and
sinking

sinking in the notice we formerly maintained through Europe, made our power so intelligible, our character so notorious, and our name so tremendous, that not an Indian through the unmeasured wilds of Asia ever addresses his God without mixing *Englishmen* in his prayer ---or as men who impoverished whole kingdoms, not for the sordid sake of personal lucre, but the patriot zeal of enriching their native country---who imported enormous wealth, not for a vicious waste of it, not to disgust us by their prodigality, nor offend by their insolence, but to improve us by their good manners, their moderation and morality---and who (as the best benefit they could render the English nation) when we were degenerating back into the gloominess, the moroseness and barbarism of the last age, gave a fillip to expiring luxury, and dimmed the brilliancy of our noblest families by superior splendour and magnificence.

IN all these views the India Company challenge our admiration, but even this mass of virtues is slight in the scale of their conduct towards the present ministry in the late struggle.

LIMITED to space, and constrained by time, I cannot here detail their numberless friendships,

“ WHAT seas they traversed, and what
“ fields they fought.”

Their

Their influence, their power, their purse, were devoted to the King's friends. All their diligence, all their ingenuity, all their experience, were exerted. Every other care was cast aside. Schemes of conquest and depredation were suspended. Their own defence was given up for the defence of the ministry. Fraud, rapine, and robbery were left to shift for themselves—even Hastings was forgot. Every lung was distended, every voice clamorous for the matchless minister. Their orators were hoarse in his praise — their authors perishing in his panegyric. Language was beggared for him. Epithets and ink-stands run dry, and not a quiet hour did they enjoy until the administration was out of all danger. In return, the ministry were truly grateful, for between them and the Company, nothing occurred through the sessions, but mutual concession and reciprocity of good offices.

BOTH had but one object, with different views. The Company wished to stand upon their old footing, the ministry wished to prove the late administration a set of liars, and the late parliament a band of libellers.—Two Committees had, in the course of three years, formed a mountain of reports. The amount of them was, that the government of the India Company in Europe, was the most preposterous and despicable that could be imagined, pernicious to the interests, and fatal to
the

the honour of this nation.—That the government in India was a system of uniform disobedience, and studied contempt of the Company, executed for the sole purpose of enriching the servants, which enabled them to scoff at their masters, and defy all the law, justice and power of this country,—which riches were derived from barefaced extortion, violence, perfidy, oppression, and cruelty, upon the miserable natives of that devoted country. This was the sum of the Reports.—Mr. Pitt's India Bill confirmed the whole of them to be a mass of impudent calumny, it proved that the government at home was truly a wise one, and the servants abroad a very honest set of gentlemen.

THE different relief bills went upon the same principle. Fox said the Company were in a state of bankruptcy—Pitt adopted the most infallible means of falsifying Fox. He gives the Company a boundless use of their credit (which the nation deprived them of, to prevent a repetition of the South Sea bubble.) He forgives them for one year, the payment of above nine hundred thousand pounds (without any charge of interest.) The Company turned this sum to their own purposes, and the sinking fund was deficient to that exact amount. To supply the sinking fund, he borrows the entire sum at $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. —with a most generous gratitude he charges the

the nation *fifty four thousand pounds a year; for lending the nation's own money to the India Company, and then passes a law to allow them to divide 8 per cent. (the largest dividend they ever made in their most prosperous days.)*—Thus backed by the English nation, it is impossible they can become bankrupts, and the falshood of Fox's assertion is of course as clear as noon-day.

As to the commutation act it is above all praise. Merchants in general are men of the world, and India merchants certainly rank with the very first in this excellence. Nothing can be more unmerchutable than crowding a ware-room with an unfaleable commodity, which originally cost something, not daring to vend it. Under this mortification stood the Company, respecting what they call *bad tea*, and what the public call *good prison*. This article had been, it seems, these twenty years past in that exact plight, to which its re-ascending must reduce a great many of the King's liege subjects—it lay concealed from the sweet face of heaven deep in the cells of the Company's granaries, reuding in darkness, and waiting for a glorious resurrection.

THE power of nations is vulgarly supposed to consist in their population, but mischiefs have often resulted to administrations from *too numerous a body* of subjects. Wise governments have sometimes undertaken wars for the express purpose of thinning and tempering their
domi-

dominions, and some good Kings and ministers have taken means more direct to produce the same benefit, as in the case of Christian II. and his good Cardinal who dispatched above four hundred refractory subjects in one night at a feast. That in passing the commutation act, Pitt meant to strengthen his ministry, from that epidemic depopulation of the country, which this tea must infallibly produce, were an agreeable speculation, I confess, but with all my partiality for his genius, I cannot suspect him of so profound a motive. Infinite good will undoubtedly result from the effect of it upon the health of the people, and all it wants to be the most accomplished of events is the certainty of being planned upon *so* large a scale—but I think it was not. Fate that favoured him in all his other transactions, perhaps imbued this project with a good he never meant. The highest stretches of perfection are hit off by accident, and in this celebrated measure the Minister seems to have snatched a blessing beyond the reach of design.

His views were purely confined to the gratification of the Company. They could have never sold *this* tea unshielded by *this* act. The duty to the public is taken off, and the expence to individuals not noticeably diminished, for it leaves the price of
their :

their own commodity to their own discretion.
 It is conceived upon this ingenious principle, that the less a man gets for his goods the more will be his profit upon them. By the *law*, they are to sell *out*, if one penny be offered for each lot above the Company's estimate. By the *fact* they buy *in*, after considerable bidding, and then avow their breach of the law. —And after all, what are the objections to this act?—mere declamation—only “ That
 “ as a *tax*, it is a grievous oppression—
 “ that as a *commutation* it is an infamous
 “ fraud—that it is unjust and cruel, where
 “ poverty prevents, or where constitution pro-
 “ hibits the use of the article commuted---
 “ that it is otherwise an impudent robbery,
 “ and selling the nation for the support of
 “ these rapacious men---that, according to
 “ Lord Stormont, it is wrenching his
 “ wretched pittance from the hard hand
 “ of the poor peasant, merely to supply
 “ the prodigality of the India Company,”
 (which objection, by the way, Lord Thurlow completely refuted by affirming that the necessaries of life, and *not* the luxuries, were fit objects of taxation)---“ That the act
 “ (take it all and all) is the most consum-
 “ mate piece of insulting knavery ever im-
 “ posed upon the people of England.”---
 That the people of England are the only sufferers by it, in reality purges it of every
 E crime.

crime. Who is the people of England? An undefined animal capable of bearing, and therefore proper to be pressed with every weight. An ass that brays a little under his burthen, and is then silenced by his own noise, into an insipid tameness—goaded by the driver, and sometimes grunting under his pain, but still waddling onward sulky and spiritless.

PROFOUND is the wisdom of making a nation *feel* it has a government, and abstracted from this deep policy, the power of the India Company in the House of Commons alone, would justify the ministry if they had mortgaged the rental of the whole kingdom for their support. Were this new window tax fifty-fold oppressive, the public are gainers by commuting it for the single accession of Major Scott himself. A genius who will write a hundred pamphlets in a month, and give them gratis to the public—of such exquisite merits too that, except the trouble of reading them, no-body ever charged them with a fault, and that evil is slight, for his own associates have seldom risked it, after the first sample of his literary prowess. ‘Sleepless himself to give his readers sleep.’

THEN have they not the governor, the great Chief himself.--“Have they not *Warren*, is not *Hastings* theirs?” --- We have heard much of what is called the frontless inconsistency of the present administration in their Indian alliances, especially against the incomparable chairman of that secret Committee,
which

which brought the ruin of India home to Hastings. Towards Hastings they affirm, that Dundas has proved the most profligate sycophant---towards the Company, the most unprincipled apostate that ever defiled the name of manhood. But, in truth, his conduct to both is the tip top of magnanimity, and the perusal of the forty-second resolution, which he moved in the House of Commons upon East India concerns, will prove it.

RESOLVED, “ That Warren Hastings, Esq. Governor General in Bengal, and William Hornby, * Esq. President of the Council at Bombay, *having, in sundry instances, acted in a manner repugnant to the honour and policy of this nation, and thereby brought great calamities on India, and enormous expences on the East India Company, it is the duty of the Directors of the said Company, to pursue all legal and effectual means for the removal of the said Governor General and President from their said offices, and to recal them to Great Britain.*”

AND, alas! who can wonder that the merciful mind of Dundas should be illumined into a right sense of that wonder-working man, who has brought the very extremes of the human heart into unison, and converted the most *soft* and the most *savage* natures in this island to the worship of his virtues. When Thurlow---but what is Thurlow?—What is the ferocious friendship of Thurlow

* Mr. Hornby is in London, for *his* indigence left him powerless in the Court of Proprietors. He is very poor, but then he is contented.

to the melting devotion of the Queen of England? The glory of the ministry is proportioned to the guilt of Hastings, in which view perhaps some men will think their fame incapable of more celebrity. His uses must indeed be great, for his alliance imposed a weighty tax upon them, and the following short sketch of his achievements, under their different heads, is given only to enable the reader to form a right judgment upon the singular merits of that virtuous confederacy. The recital is taken from the various details formed out of the records and the authentic papers of the East India Company, from the public dispatches of Mr. Hastings himself, and the testimony of persons concerned in the same transactions. Nothing is invented, and a great deal is suppressed.---Whatever sentence the public may pass upon the events stated, the veracity of the statement will not, I presume, be denied by any person of any party.

And FIRST of TREATIES.

- Treaty with the *Grand Mogul*---for his numberless friendships to the Company, a solemn settlement to pay him 260,000*l.* a year.---Never paid him a shilling!
- Second Treaty with the *Mogul*---agreed to pay the Soubah of Bengal 400,000*l.*-----
Broke this likewise.
- Third Treaty with the *Mogul*---agreed to pay *Nudjif Cawn* a pension for signal services

acknowledged—Broke the treaty and stopped the pension.

Treaty with the *Nizam*—Broken.

Treaty with *Hyder Ally*—Broken.

Treaty with the *Mahrattas*—In profound peace invaded their country and took Salsette. Peace made and a treaty established. —The treaty broke soon after, and the Mahrattas dominions invaded a second time. The Company's army defeated. Moderate terms offered by the Mahrattas, rejected by *Hastings*, and vigorous efforts made to carry on the war, when Hyder Ally rushed into the Carnatic under a confederacy formed by the most discordant powers in India for the purpose of driving the English out of it, as enemies of the human species!

Various Treaties with *Mahratta Chiefs*---made for the sake of being broken. The observance of any two of them would have brought two British armies to cut each others throats.

Treaty with *Ragonaut Row*---that he should be raised to the throne of the Mahrattas, and placed out of the reach of danger from the people, (who mortally hated him) if he assisted in the war.---He assisted in the war, acquired no throne, and was surrendered up to the people who mortally hated him.

Treaty with the *Guickwar*---that he should have a share of the conquests, and be free from the dominion of the Mahrattas if he assisted in the war.—He assisted in the war, got not a foot of the conquests, and was placed under the dominion of the Mahrattas.

Treaty with the *Rana of Gohud*---that he should have eleven sixteenths of our joint conquests, and a surety of protection, if he assisted in the war---He assisted in the war, did not obtain a mole-hill, but he got a promise of protection in the treaty, and at the very moment its ratification was exchanging, his castle was besieged, his territories laid waste, and his agent prohibited complaining of this perfidy, by being denied admission to Mr. Hastings.

General Sacrifice of the *Mahratta Chiefs and Princes*.---After engaging all that he could of these people in the war against their own countrymen, they were abandoned to the fury of their enemies by an article in the supplemental treaty whereby “ the
 “ Company is bound not to afford refuge
 “ to any Chief, Merchant, or other person,
 “ flying from the Mahrattas into their
 “ dominion !

STATE of our ALLIES in INDIA.

Ragonaut Row, the Guickwar, and the Rana of Gohud---ruined.

Grand Mogul---in every misery.

Nabob of Oude---in want and servitude.

Rajah

Rajah of Benares---in banishment.
Nabob of Bengal—in beggary.
Rajah of Tanjour—destroyed, and his people
 perishing under every distress.
 The *Polygars*---starving or exiled.
Nabob of Arcott---under every calamity.

SALES of STATES and PRINCES.

The *Grand Mogul*---sold to Sujah Dowla.
 The *Mogul's Territories*---sold to the same
 Sujah for two years purchase.
 The *whole nation* of the *Rohillas* sold to the
 same Sujah Dowla, for 400,000*l.* Our
 army assisted in butchering this people, and
 laying waste the whole country with fire and
 sword. The wife and children of their
 Chief, the most valiant and accomplished
 man in India, whose head was cut off and
 sold for a fixed sum, were reduced to the ne-
 cessity of begging rice in the English
 camp to support human nature. The
 English commander in this expedition
 expressed some horror at such diabolical
 brutalities as he foolishly deemed them.
 He was very properly reprimanded by the
 Governor for his officious humanity.*
Serega Dowla—sold to Mir Jaffier.
Mir Jaffier---in his turn to Mir Cossim.
Mir Cossim---back to Mir Jaffier.
Mir Jaffier again---to his eldest son.

* Major Scott's justification of this war is most conclusive,
 for, says the Major " Sir Robert Barker declared the Rohillas
 " were a very treacherous people."

Maborec ull Dowlab---to his own step-mother,
The *Mahrattas*---fold to Ragobah.

Ragobah---fold to the Mahrattas.

The *Mahrattas* and *Ragobah*---both offered for
sale to the Rajah of Berar.

Scindia of Malva---offered to the same.

The *Subah* of the *Decan*---fold to the Nabob
of Arcott.

Hyder Ally---to ditto.

Rajah of Tanjore---to ditto.

Twelve Sovereign Princes---to ditto. The
Nabob of Arcott was the best of all these
customers---but even he in his turn was
fold to his own son *Amir ul Omrah*.

CONDITION of PLACES *directly* under our DOMINION.

The whole *Kingdom of Bengal* was put up
to the best bidder (as a good means of re-
lieving the country after a famine) and
all the Princes, nobility, gentry, free-
holders, farmers, manufacturers, establish-
ments, lands, tenements and hereditaments,
fold. (It is remarkable that after this auction
the Banyan of Mr. Hastings possessed
territories that yielded him a rent of
140,000 *l.* sterling a year). Such is the ex-
cellent discipline of this Governor General,
that persons who had formerly paid a
quit-rent of 200,000 *l.* a year to the
Company, now exist upon common cha-
rity.

The

The *Carnatic*---ravaged and destroyed.
Tanjour---in universal desolation and decay.

CONDITION of PLACES *indirectly*
 under our DOMINION.

Oude—once paid to the government three millions sterling annually—not one million three hundred thousand at present. This whole kingdom was confiscated.

Benares—The Rajah of this province paid his annual tribute 260,000*l.* as specified in his treaty with the Company. Hastings broke the treaty, and made a new demand upon him (five lacks of rupees.) The Rajah pleaded the treaty, and Hastings accused him of rebellion. An army was marched against the Rajah, and he was forced to pay the exaction twice. The exaction was demanded a third time, and the Rajah failed to pay it from positive want. Hastings fined him in 500,000*l.* for the failure, (*over and above the tribute and the exaction*) afterwards seized him in his palace, disgraced him in the eyes of his subjects, banished him his own kingdom, and placed another upon his throne*.

Fitzula

* Major Scott defends this measure with great ability and effect; for, says the major, "Cheyt Singe was not a sovereign prince, he was *only a Zemindar.*" In the same forcible style
 he

Fitzula Cawn—paid his tribute of 150,000*l.* a year to the Company, according to treaty. Hastings demands 300,000*l.* a year additional. Fitzula pleaded the treaty, and Hastings accused him of rebellion. Forced to pay 150,000*l.* (*over and above the stipulated tribute*) as a test of his loyalty.

It was reported that the father of the Rajah of Benares, left his son a million privately; when Hastings heard the report, he accused the Rajah of rebellion.—After the expulsion of this Rajah, it was reported that his mother *Panna* had great treasures. *Panna* was accused, and her castle besieged. She capitulated upon terms of safety to her own person and her woman, and the capitulation was solemnly ratified. Yet the *Panna* and three hundred women who attended her, were despoiled in the night time of all they possessed. The treasures of the castle, exclusive of the robbery, exceeded 200,000*l.* and Hastings quarrelled with the Captors concerning the booty.—The mother and grandmother of the Nabob of Oude, were reported to be very wealthy. Hastings accused them

he defends the massacre of the Rohillas, for, says the Major, “the progenitors of the Rohillas were not natives, they were a race of Afghan Tartars,” and for the proof of this, refers you to Dow’s History of Hindostan. The *English* in *India* vindicate the extirpation of an entire people, and the ruin of a prince, because the ancestors of the people were not natives, and the prince was not an hereditary sovereign!

of

of rebellion, and they were obliged twice to assert their allegiance by the surrender of their treasures. Their powers of rebellion consisted in an army of two thousand women, and two seraglios of eunuchs.

(ALTHOUGH in the eyes of some scrupulous puritanical people, Mr. Hastings may appear somewhat erroneous now and then, his capacity is unquestionable, and the ministry in their patronage of him, without doubt, mean to bless us with his abilities in some public office at home. His plan of finance would be a fertile source of succour in this kingdom, as it is in India. Charges of treason now and then against the Bedfords, the Devonshires, the Fitzwilliams, the Marlboroughs, the Norfolks, and other possessors of great fortunes in enmity to the King's friends, would be an infinite mine of revenue. Between Hastings's rebellions, and Pitt's commutations, the national debt must infallibly be redeemed in a short time.)

VIOLATION of ORDERS.

The DIRECTORS.

HASTINGS.

We do not approve the treaty of Poor-
under, but still we
are determined to ad-
here to it strictly.

*Broke this treaty
immediately.*

We command you at all events not to involve us in war.

We think Mr. Francis Fowke a very fit person to be resident at Benares.

We positively desire that you will restore Mr. Fowke to his station.

In our opinion Mr. John Bristow is a fit person to be resident at Lucknow.

Upon consideration we acquiesce in the recall of Mr. Bristow from Lucknow.

We are of opinion that you have treated Cheyt Singewith cruelty, injustice, and impolicy, and strictly charge you to restore him to his throne and kingdom.

We desire that you will advertise all contracts, that you will give preference to the lowest bidder, and that

Commenced the Mahratta war directly.

Recalled him from his residence at Benares and said the Company invaded " his prerogative."

Your Empire should sink into the ocean first.

Recalled him from Lucknow directly.

Nay then, he shall go back to Lucknow; and back he sent him.

If he comes within my reach I'll strangle the rascal.

Advertises no contract; rejects the lowest offers, gives preference to his own friends, and fixes the duration of

each contract shall be of only one year's duration. *each, at five years instead of one.*

When the present Nabob of Bengal succeeded his father, he was a minor. The Directors thus order their servant: “ We desire that you will appoint a Minister to transact the affairs of the government, and to select for that purpose some person well qualified for the affairs of government, to be Minister of the government, and guardian of the Nabob’s minority.”

*Appointed Munny Begum, a woman who had formerly belonged to a company of dancing girls, and whom the late Nabob took a liking to, and after some cohabitation married. By the Eastern customs, this woman was shut up in the seraglio from the eyes and the intercourse of society—yet she was solemnly invested with all the functions of government, and made guardian of the young Nabob. His own mother was then alive in the seraglio, but Hastings chose his step-mother “ as a person well qualified for the affairs of government for the office of a Minister, and for the guardianship of a Prince.”**

MONEY.

* A minute of General Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Mr. Francis upon this business, concludes in these words—

M O N E Y.

BEFORE we examine the clandestine receipt of money, it is right to observe the terms of the Act of Parliament upon that subject. These are the words. "That no Governor General, or any of the council, shall directly, or indirectly, accept, receive, or take, of or from any person, or persons, or *on any account whatsoever*, any present, gift, donation, gratuity, or reward, pecuniary or otherwise."—Now for the observance of the act.

First Sum—*Twenty-three thousand pounds from Cheit Singe.*

Second Sum—*Thirty-four thousand five hundred pounds.* From whom this present came never appeared.

Third Sum—*Sixteen thousand pounds.* The donor unknown.

Fourth Sum—*Twenty-three thousand eight hundred and seventy-one pounds.* The donor unknown.

The first sum Mr. Hastings *said* he paid into the hands of the sub-treasurers at Calcutta—but the Company never received *any other* account that it really was paid—For

"We believe there never was an instance in India of a trust so disposed of!" In page 81, the reader will find something which perhaps he may deem explanatory of this appointment.

the

the second sum he takes bonds of the Company, as if the money was his own, and afterwards relinquishes a part of it as the Company's right. It is all his own at one time, only two thirds of it at another, and at last he surrenders his whole claim of it.--- For the third sum he likewise takes a bond as if the money was all his own, and in some time after he yields the entire back again to the Company.---The fourth sum he likewise claimed as his own at one time, and abandoned at another time as the Company's property.

There is beside these a claim made by Mr. Hastings upon the Company of *twenty-nine thousand pounds* for Durbar charges. In some time after however, he recollects that *this* money also belonged to the Company, and remits the claim---(*The reader should be informed, that Mr. Hastings never acknowledged the receipt of any monies thus acquired, until after Mr. Francis took his passage for England, and after the House of Commons had appointed the two Committees to enquire into the Company's affairs.*)

Fifth Sum---*One hundred thousand pounds*, a present to Mr. Hastings by the Subah of Oude. (The Subah owed the Company an enormous debt at the same time.)

THIS sum was paid by bills on a great money lender of Benares, and the negotiation of the bills rendered the concealment of the

the transaction next to impossible. Mr. Hastings took a particular fancy to this present, and begged the Company would let him have it. The Company refused his request, and referred him to the Act of Parliament. The Act declares all presents to be the property of the Company, but not as a sanction for receiving them, which the Act positively prohibits. The view is only "to invest the Company with a legal title to a civil suit." *By his own confession Mr. Hastings received 228,000 l. in about one year and five months of this forbidden money.*

MISCELLANEOUS CHARGES.

Tippo Saib---The Mahrattas in the treaty insisted an article should be inserted to give Hyder, or his son (Hyder soon after died) the benefit of peace, if he chose to accept it, and Hastings ordered Anderson to admit in the treaty a clause to that sense. But here he displayed infinite faculty---for *at the very moment* he admitted an article to make peace with Tippo Saib, he projected a plan with Madagee Scindia for his *total destruction, and actually parcelled out his dominions to be divided between them.*

I am aware that some puny infirm mortals will be apt to exclaim a little upon this occasion (the cruelties our prisoners received under Tippoo being fresh in their memory) and perhaps the justice of Providence will be questioned---

Why

Why does the poor soldier or subaltern guilty of this infamous treachery *suffer*, and they who wantonly provoked this barbarity, lord it in all the banefulness of triumphant impunity? The goodness of Providence too perhaps may be implored, to give some consolation to the thousands that lament at this moment in the bitterness of anguish, the hard fate of their dear relatives who fell the victims of a severe though just retaliation.—But after all, there would be more piety than policy in such exclamations! We know that battles were never so desperately fought, as when the wise custom prevailed of cutting off the prisoners heads after dinner; and the revival of that useful valour which springs from the certainty of death to captives, was, I doubt not, one of Mr. Hastings's motives in stimulating Tippo Saib to this exemplary rigour.

Munny Begum---Receiving *one million fifty thousand rupees* from Munny (the Nabob's *Minister and Guardian*) for AN ENTERTAINMENT --- This he never denied; but reproached his colleagues* bitterly

* GENERAL Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Mr. Francis. These Gentlemen make the following declaration in a minute, dated May 25, 1775.—“ In the late proceedings of the Revenue Board it appears that there is *no species of peculation* from which the *Governor General* has thought proper to abstain.”

for making the discovery. It certainly was very impolite.

Phoufedar of Hughly---Dispossessing a man of this office, and appointing another in his place, with a salary of 72,000 rupees per annum, out of which salary Hastings himself was to have 36,000, and his Banyan, for managing the business, 4000 more.

THE reader will find this curious affair at large in the eleventh report of the select Committee, with its appendix, and it is really worth his perusal. Hastings discovered infinite ability in the evasion of enquiries into these and many other charges. To use the words of the poet ‘ No man has a more “ engaging presence of mind on the road.” His genius sparkles with greater refulgence in proportion to the magnitude of his danger. We understand the gaining over, or buying off an enemy, indifferently well in this country—promotion, bribery, retirement, and many other dextrous devices are familiar to us. But the best among us are botches in the art. Set our boldest efforts beside Hastings, and what a contemptible figure they make! A grievous charge lay against him at a particular time, and in the whole world there was but one * man who could injure him---It was no season for indecision, and his expedient was at least equal to

* Nundcomar.

the peril. He indicted the man for a conspiracy, and failing in that, he accused him of a new crime, and the man was *hanged* directly. The most captivating theory in Machiavel is mere milkiness to this method of silencing an enemy. In that hour and in that act, perished *all* the accusers of Mr. Hastings in the *East*.

THE same splendid capacity is displayed upon every exigency. His judgment told him once, it would be right to resign his office, and he dispatched an agent (Mr. Maclean) for this express purpose. The resignation was formally notified and formally accepted. His judgment afterwards told him it would be wrong to resign, and then he solemnly denied having confided any such commission to the agent whom he dispatched for that very purpose. Should he---who yesterday could say unto his kneeling slave, "Rise up and be a king"---become the willing instrument of his own degradation!—should he, who sunk the descendant of Tamerlane into shame and want, sink himself into a private citizen of this country!—should that star that luminates a world, twinkle through the streets of this saucy town unnoticed perhaps, or noticed only to be despised! and surrender the gorgeous grandeur of his present situation on the desperate risk of fading into the false glare and counterfeit honor of a British Peerage!

NEVER was man stored with truer notions of good government than this great man. A cobbler in Fetter-lane defies all the powers of the King of England to deprive him of an old strap more than the law allows him.---But see how it fares with the owner of a kingdom under Mr. Hastings. “ The Company, “ or the person delegated by the Company “ holds an absolute authority over the sub- “ ject (the owner of a kingdom), that sub- “ ject owes an *implicit* and *unreserved* obedi- “ ence to this authority, at the forfeiture “ even of his *life* and *property* at the *discretion* “ of those who hold or fully represent the so- “ vereign authority, and that authority is “ fully delegated to *me!*” — These are the words of Mr. Hastings, and every body knows he is not a man of *words*, (except indeed to the Company.) Unlike some pigeon-livered possessors of uncontrouled sway in Europe, who are coldly content with having it, *he* scorns an inert authority, and cannot be arraigned for having left any power he ever acquired by any means, unexerted in a single instance.

THE same superior character beams through his policy with foreign states. “ I shall be “ always ready to profess,” says this great man in a blaze of spirit and frankness,— “ that one of *my* motives for going to war “ with *my neighbours*, is the hope of getting “ their *wealth*.” — And the moral of this shining

shining sentiment is the type of his life, for no man was born of woman whose principles and practice harmonize in truer unison.

HE has sent a peace-offering in his last letter, for his visit to *Lucknow* procured from the Nabob 450,000*l.*—How procured he best knows! but his merit must be infinite, when the misfortunes of that country, from the inflictions of *God*, are added to its miseries from this *demi-god*. His letter contains manifold consolations to this nation—he tells us that our empire in India (an empire established above a hundred years) exists only upon the “*thread of opinion*.”—and to crown our comfort, this thread is held by *Warren Hastings*!

His letter has been published on the very day* I am writing this passage; and without the smallest apprehension of being contradicted, I affirm, that it is the most curious and entertaining epistle that ever attracted the notice of mankind, from the time of *Scaurus* and *Bestia*, to the time of *Hastings*.

OVERLOOKING (if that were possible) the high wrought touches of this unequalled piece of writing, and not adverting to dates or signatures, you would imagine, not only that *Hastings* and the *Company* had changed characters, but that the situation of the *Earth* was altered, and that *they* were to execute, *he to advise*: for the whole letter is

* The 17th of January.

made up of censures and of precepts; of their ignorance and roguery by implication, his own abilities and integrity in direct terms.

As for its stile, no criticism can reach it. Indeed it is a compendium of files, and every line of it, like the text of the great classicks, would bear a folio of commentaries.

As an instance of the *sublime*—the Prince of Delhi comes to Lucknow. “ *An uncommon phenomenon has suddenly appeared, which though in itself simple and unimportant, has derived a magnitude, like the less ordinary events of the physical world, viewed through the medium of superstition, from its operation on the opinions of mankind.*”

OF the *easy*—he changes his lodgings. “ *On the same obvious motives, the Prince having desired to be accommodated in a house near to my own, I resigned to him that which I then occupied, and took immediate possession of one of the Nabob’s, which he had originally provided and prepared for my reception, within the compass of his own palace, and immediately adjoining to that which he lives in.*”

INCORRUPTION.—“ *Few are the advocates of the national interests, and their voice will be faintly heard amid the numerous and loud exclamations of private rapacity; but I humbly assume to rank myself with THE FORMER.*”

MODERATION.—“ *God forbid that any future Pizarro’s and Almagro’s should disgrace the annals of your dominion, or mark the traces of its decline with the blood, &c.*”

THE mad, or the true no meaning. “ *That*
“ *source*

“ source, which ought to flow with the principles of its duration, will, if productive of the same deleterious streams, which have been lately seen to issue from it, prove the cause of its dissolution.”

PERHAPS it is on purpose to be misunderstood, that all his letters are full of these non-intelligibles. But let us deliver up this poetical composer of dispatches, this Pindarick prose writer, to the disposal of the critics, and view him for a moment, as a politician. After stating that no common obstruction shall restrain him from remaining in his situation, until he brings certain good projects of his own to perfection, he says, “ I possess such inherent advantages, as I trust will prove superior to every species of opposition, but the last extremity of it.”—In so many words, I will not stir one inch, for all your authorities—when he wrote this letter he had heard that Mr. Fox’s bill had been read twice in the House of Commons, but knew nothing of the change of ministry, and concluding that he would be recalled by the late administration, he thus prepares the nation for a determined resistance. He is well instructed as to the popular clamours in London, as this passage will shew. “ It was the condition of vassalage and meanness to which the servants of the king of Delhi had reduced him, by degrading him into a mere instrument of their interested and sordid designs, that he regretted. —

THE attachment of the princes and chiefs must spring from positive inspiration. Except the grand Mogul, whom he has starved, the Vizier "whom he has cut to the bones?" the Rajah of Benares, whom he has banished, and Nundcomar, whom he has hanged, no two *men* in India (women indeed have) suffered more from this glorious governor, than Fitzula, and Almas Ally Cawn. The former however is now so reconciled, that he sent his son to Lucknow to confirm the assurance of his attachment to the *Company* and the *British nation*; and Almas Ally, the miserable victim of the most inhuman persecution, is now it seems, eager and anxious to testify his love for this merciless author of all his calamities. The Prince of Delhi's visit is, without doubt, purely *accidental*, and Hastings in sending him to Madagee Scindia, takes indeed the most effectual of all methods, "to preserve the tranquility of our possessions."---Now lives there a man who would imagine that the author of these heavy oppressions upon the unfortunate Mogul, upon the Vizier, Almas Ally Cawn, and the different other persons whose cause he pleads in this letter with the most specious humanity was the very person himself who so describes them?—and in India, or in Europe, or in the whole world, is there such another inexplicable being as this Governor General of Bengal?

Such is the letter and the letter writer. With all his merits he had been a dead weight

weight upon the ministry, if they had not fortunately influenced the most sacred personage in this country, by her reception of his wife, and by the sanction of her smiles, to give operation to his powers, and currency to his character.

NOTHING less could serve the great end in view. Not the burthen of ten thousand hawkers freighted daily by the unfatigued eternal Major.---Nor the recantation of Dundas, nor all his slimy panegyrics---nor the perspicuous inanities of Pitt---nor the barbarous growling of Thurlow, could stem the torrents that flowed from the Reports of the Committees.---Even *Robinson Crusoe* * failed. The cordial hug of Mrs. Hastings, fresh in oriental fragrance, and blooming in all her unpolluted virtues, could alone turn their Indian system in favour of the present, and throw a stigma upon the late ministry---those bad men who had so basely persecuted the most spotless husband of the most spotless wife in Christendom.

ONE of the chief aims (and I think one of the best aims) of the King's friends, is the levelling of all moral distinctions, and equalizing the characters of mankind, without any distinction whatever---inasmuch that the preservation of an exact balance, betwixt their own, and even the royal reputation, has been studiously and uniformly sought by

* LORD Thurlow said, the Reports of the House of Commons had just as much weight with him, as reading *Robinson Crusoe*.

them.

them. Nothing is more invidious among the great, than an insulting superiority in the virtues, and a most generous fellowship has been dealt (with a most equitable reciprocity in the spirit of this principle) between the master and servants, so that neither party ever feels the least concern for any thing that might injure the fame of the other party. There are, who impute to the operation of this good maxim, the persuasions of the Ministry in favour of Mrs. Hastings.---Whatever the motive was, they have certainly succeeded; and the Queen's mortification, upon a concession unprecedented in her history, cannot be estimated on a better scale, than by the reflection of her own connubial character, and the determined distance at which she has systematically kept every woman however splendid her rank, or powerful her influence, on whom suspicion had laid her fingers---*before this instance.*

In *my* judgment the Ministry were impelled by wiser and worthier incitements, than injuring the character or feelings of the sacred person alluded to. To purge the country of a national stain, and produce in the same act, a national benefit, were I doubt not their objects. Philosophers admit that virtues in the extreme do operate as vices. The British Court has long been reproached for an unpolished distaste of certain female elegancies, that gamesomeness of moral, and that agreeable looseness of principle which bring
about

about occasional deviations from the inhuman and barbarous restraints of the marriage bond, and which contribute greatly to the perfection of the female mind. Many good people have justly decried this squeamishness, and it certainly has furnished foreign nations with instruments of slander against us, as a set of islanders, a parcel of savages, blind to the true delights and luxuries of life.---We all know the marked discouragement which the first female in the land has uniformly shewn to every attempt at reforming this defect, and it was a most judicious measure in the ministry, now that her royal daughters are gradually growing into womanhood, to attempt the removal of every possible impediment to the formation of those foreign alliances which we have a right to hope through such an amiable medium: by their having introduced a person to be the grace of the royal circle, the ornament of the Court, whose character may tend to wipe away this stain in the face of Europe, whose accomplishments might meliorate this rigorous and rustic virtue, and from whose society and example the royal offspring might chance to pick up some improvements that would tend to strengthen their titles to useful and splendid connections among the princes of Europe. Cardinal Mazarine removed the Pyrrhenees and founded the grandeur of the French monarchy upon the basis of a royal match. Our Mazarines have the most numerous train of lovely, and hitherto unfulled females, that
ever

ever animated ministers to negotiate, and it were indeed lamentable that any coarse disqualification, like the very surmountable one alluded to, should depress their efforts for encreasing the glory of the House of Brunswick ; and adding to the strength and safety of the British empire, in their disposal of so divine a progeny.

So much for the services of the India Company to the King's friends, and their grateful sacrifices in return.

THE PRINCIPLES of a Government are greatly definable from the means used to obtain its patronage, and several events have occurred within a few months, to elucidate the aims of the present ministry by this rule, as well as to establish in our hearts a confidence in their sincerity.

AGAINST the equal spirit of the common law of England, and the wicked caution of statutes in favour of the subjects liberty, the friends of the Crown had, upon exigencies, one certain source of support---I mean the twelve Judges, and those to do them justice have seldom failed them. The integrity of Judges has been much blazoned since the King has been robbed of the power of removing them, but in this assumption there is in reality less truth than affectation. The Judges upon being fixed for life, grew rather prudish than chaste, and had more coquetry than solid passion in their boasted independence. When the Crown has tried them, the
same

same convenient pliancy—the same temper of expedient ductility, the same relaxableness of mind that characterised their predecessors have seldom been wanting (bating some slight exceptions.) There are indeed some fierce indomitable spirits, even now upon the bench, whose rugged and clumsy attachment to their duties, would, I fear, be proof to the arts of the mighty necromancer, Pitt himself—but these I trust are not the larger number. Others there are who, on the solemn tribunal of dispensing the law—in the sacred seat of justice, can yield to their ambitions, and direct the incense to the proper channel. The right of juries is one of the worst evils of this constitution, and the only candidate for the only great judicial office likely to be soon vacated, timed his efforts to abridge those pernicious rights most excellently, and in charging twelve men to convict a fellow subject, (strictly prohibiting the consideration of his guilt) had views far superior to the lust of punishing, or a sanguinary spirit of persecution, (though both are undoubtedly laudable passions in a Judge.) In Sir Francis Buller's charge to the Jury who tried the Dean of St. Asaph, nothing implacable, nothing rancourous to the Dean disgraced his lips. He could owe *him* no personal spite, as he truly observed, when the judgment was arrested. He was,
I doubt

I doubt not, utterly indifferent to the point, if the principle was not impaired. Animated with nobler incitements, the learned Judge, conscious that the jury's right of finding general verdicts was one of the beams that sustain this crazy constitution, and the very instrument that produced the odious Revolution, was only anxious to lend his mite to our emancipation, persuaded that in clipping this darling privilege of Englishmen, he was taking the surest road to the succession of the first seat of criminal justice in Great Britain.

INNUMERABLE are the qualifications of this good man for that high office. Some say he is proud, unfeeling, arbitrary, and cruel. I think he is not, but yet I am sure that all these are ingredients requisite for a Judge in these times. A mistake on the bloody side of the question is always safest. Criminals are not hanged for the sake of sending the particular wretch out of this world, but for the benefit of example to the public. The more examples therefore, the more benefit, and the murder of innocence is amply attoned in the service rendered the community by the execution of a fellow creature.

“ *A popular judge is a deformed thing!*” said a great man. This is a golden sentiment to the King's friends. No popular judge ever answered the ends of government,
and

and such are the fatal errors of our civil system, that every judge has been odious to the people in proportion to his servility to the crown. But this dictum justly supposes them to be such a herd of vile abandoned beings, that a Judge who becomes their favourite must of necessity be deformed. It pulls down that unfortunate barrier between honor and infamy, the love of fame; shelters a Judge in all that wise and virtuous complaisance to the reigning Minister which the constitutional fanatics term baseness, turpitude, and treachery; for if after selling himself, his country, and his office (events sometimes requisite to government, and perfectly right in the Judge) the national hatred should fall down upon him, he is steeled in the coat of mail of this maxim, which, like the Pope's dispensation, absolves him from every sin.

“A POPULAR Judge is a deformed thing,” and *such a thing* is not Judge Buller. His whole life has studiously avoided this deformity, and I defy all his enemies to shew one instance of his transgressing against the rule. A learned lawyer, and after him a noble and illustrious Judge, both quoted this saying in Justice Buller's vindication last November. I am not jealous of that application: my object in mentioning it is only to rectify a mistake into which the learned lawyer and even the noble Judge led the
public

public respecting the *source* of this precious saying. Both attributed it to Judge Foster. Now I beg leave, in honour of the spotless man who was the true author of it, and to whom the sentiment was more congenial, to tell the reader that this inestimable maxim was *not* Judge Foster's—It was the maxim of him, whom a poet dear to that venerable Judge and to this nation called

‘The wisest, brightest—*meanest* of mankind.’
—It was the maxim of *Lord Bacon*—a model whom I cordially recommend to Judge Buller, not from any sympathy that subsists between them in the gross view of money, but because a faithful pursuit of his lordship's steps will lead himself to all the dignities of his profession, and greatly accelerate that happiness to us which had long since been our lot, if men and judges like Judge Foster had not officiously impeded the current of our good fortune, in opposition to the Bacon's and the Buller's of other ages.

VARIOUS circumstances advantageous to the ministry occurred upon this trial. The Judge and the Crown Advocate played the same game. The Barrister would sit on the bench, and the Judge in the corner would prefer the center. Mr. Bearcroft in descanting upon the wickedness of telling plain truth volunteered in the Minister's cause, and gave the *reform* an unbought blow, by stigmatizing the Irish for their zeal in favour of it.

---In

In his digressive taunt upon the Irish Mr. Bearcroft essentially served the Ministry. The reproach he cast has been vehemently reprobated in Ireland, and will tend in its degree to promote the discontentedness of that country, the increase of which seems the great policy of government at this time. ---The Judge taunted the argument for the rights of Juries ‘ *as the language of a party,*’ meaning those ragamuffins the Whigs, one of whom defended the Dean as council, and impudently dared in open court to vindicate not merely the libel (which at such a time as this seditiously revived the most pernicious doctrines in magna charta and the bill of rights) but likewise the obnoxious right of Juries to find general verdicts (when it is our evident interest to demolish Juries altogether) as well as the people’s right to reform the House of Commons (when the very name of a House of Commons should be blotted from our memory)---Such is the virulent bigotry of that faction in all that regards this diabolical constitution !

HERE I must tell the reader with a trembling heart my apprehensions, that the fiend Fox intends to bring a bill into Parliament this winter, to establish the right of Juries to find general verdicts, and what is worse, I fear that our amiable Minister cannot hazard an opposition to it in the Lower House, from the peculiar temper of the

present moment. This measure (if the mutes should not strangle it above stairs) would make against us without doubt. But the mischief is momentary, for every thing must fall by and by in the common crush of the whole system. That's our comfort.

THIS concession however is but merely discretionary—the Minister's power in the Lower House is in reality omnipotent. Not Cæsar was more successful when he raised the Centurions into that Senate which courted slavery, and wisely deposited all the authorities of the Roman constitution in the person of an individual, than William Pitt in modelling the present House of Commons. Scores of legislators he has made, who expected to sit upon the British throne, just as much as in the British parliament, twelve months ago—Aye, but are they duffers?—Is there no dread of constituents—no fear of shame upon the long run?—Can he trust them in *all* cases?—This I cannot answer for---but he can make Peers of all the doubtful members, and then their faith is infallible while he is minister.

THE mention of the peerage suggests another strong ground of confidence in the present ministry. Creating Nobles is a prodigious source of support to the King's friends. In most countries of Europe this prerogative has been exercised upon men either of distinguished family, extensive properties honourably

nourably acquired, or eminent professional merit---but limited to such restrictions with us, it had been in fact rather an incumbrance than an instrument of power---*non tali auxilio nec defensoribus istis tempus eget.* Men of this description had never elevated the British House of Lords to the dignity of a Divan, for how could the King's friends depend upon such men?---To steer wide of this evil, the new ministry have judiciously gone to the very opposite extreme, and overturned the ordinary system so excellently, that in the conferring of titles the rate of private insult and public indecorum has been the only measure---A fixed ratio of rank is established—the degree proportioned to the strength of the alliance. So many votes make an Earl, so many a Viscount, &c. English or Irish---according to the case. Mr. Beckford is on the list for English nobility. By the ratio he has a right to it from his forces in the Lower House.---But I doubted his success. The son of *him* (or of his wife,) who dared to say, that the libellers of his loyal subjects, were unworthy a King's confidence, had a thin claim upon George the Third—that he was brother to one of the most implacable remorseless Whigs* in Eng-

* RICHARD BECKFORD, the present member for Arundel (to whom perhaps some apology is due for putting his name in this page.) Mr. Beckford with his characteristic pleiantry says, that he was chosen for Bridport in the year 1780 *because he was a Whig*, and turned out in 1784 *for the same reason.*

land, did not surely in so far augment his interest with William Pitt---But *now* his title is unquestionable.

A SINGLE Stentor—(unless disqualified by any lurking love of independence, or suspected of latent leanings towards constitutional doctrines) is entitled by the ratio to an English baronetage, an Irish peerage, more or less, *pro re nata*. A vote the less would hardly keep Lord Delaval, for instance, on the base list of *Irish* nobility, gnawing his liver to promote *the cause* in the armour of a *British* baron. In apostacies marked with features of singular infamy—where the treachery is frontless, and the baseness be of an implicit kind, there are always favorable discriminations. Lord North was Delaval's God six months ago.

“ But merit will by turns forsake them all,
 “ Would you know when, *exactly when*
 they fall.”

It is not the office but the officer that is divine, and a misunderstanding of these devotions was the rock Lord North split upon. He lifted men from the gutter into rank, and raised beggars into bankers—“ They
 “ would die rather than desert him—they
 “ would be the vilest wretches that ever
 “ stained the name of men if they abandoned
 “ so honourable, so liberal a patron.”
 And he in the confidence of his nature takes
 all

all this for granted, as if profession was any surety for good faith, or benefaction for gratitude.

SUCH is the enobling system of the King's friends. The late ministry too it seems *would* make peers—What! pollute the unstained threshold of the House of Lords with their crew—souls formed of steel, fellows made up of that republicanisn of mind that grates at the very found of servitude! Hazard a mutiny under the very roof of the seraglio!—“The fool was wiser I thank you.”

THE COMPOSITION of the public cabinet beams the brightest prospects upon this nation—The Gower's and the Thurlow's are superior to suspicion—*Their* whole life is one continued chain of demonstrations of zeal and sincerity for *the cause*. As little reason is there to doubt the other members, if their true characters were understood. Lord Cambden might perhaps create some qualms from suspicions of Whiggisn. If Lord Cambden had rashly opposed the ministry in trampling upon a House of Commons that dared to defy the power, and insolently rejected the corruptions of government—If Lord Cambden defended the constitution when Lord Temple with his intrepid associates made a bold breach in the very centre of it—If Lord Cambden reprobated the doctrine

doctrine of originating money bills in the Upper House, and resisted a motion which imputed a breach of law and constitution to the Commons of England, *for declaring an opinion concerning the public money* --- If Lord Cambden took this course, his guilt cannot be concealed ; but having done the very reverse of it, I maintain that the imputation of Whiggism is a libel upon his Lordship: But let us not be scared by a bugbear !—What is the name of a Whig ! If Lord Cambden's title to the sound were never so undisputed, we have this supreme consolation, that his Lordship has vindicated some of the most comfortable doctrines that ever brushed from the eyes of mankind, this film called liberty. *Discretion* and *state necessity* (those valuable doctrines which zealots foolishly call the law of tyrants) have been carried farther by Lord Cambden, than by any other man in this kingdom. Assuming a power to suspend law cost James II. his crown, and prevented the happiness of this nation by producing the revolution. This very principle, *whenever the King thinks it wise to suspend*, has been vindicated by Lord Cambden in some of the most splendid harangues ever delivered in the House of Peers.*

SITUATION has amazing influence upon some politicians, and if the Chancellorship, in

* SEE the debates upon the corn proclamation in 1768.
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the bloom of his abilities seventeen years since, persuaded Lord Cambden into the excellence of this last and greatest of James the Second's principles, it is a fair presumption that the Presidency of the Council at his present time of life, impaired in faculties, and strengthened by years and by experience in that love of the good things of this world inseparable from old age, and against which the enmity of lawyers in particular is not very uniform, will impel him to compliances far more liberal and decisive.

But are there not others in the public cabinet challengeable for affection to this *great cause*? Stands not the Duke of Richmond committed upon points directly adverse to the demolition of this constitution?—From all anxiety in this respect I shall have little difficulty in rescuing the reader. I do admit that the Duke of Richmond, encumbered with principles in any measure adequate to his professions, might be an impediment: but the big breastwork of constitutional defence erected by his Grace in the days of his opposition to the King's friends, is in truth reduced to the level of his own military genius, and the capture of this constitution will be just as effectually obstructed by *his* political system, as the capture of the kingdom by *his fortifications*, if it was invaded by an enemy.

RESISTANCE to infidelity, where there is much temptation to it, is a good test of faith;

and religious casuists have raised obstacles to the universality of their own systems, necessary perhaps to encrease the merit of believers, but so crouded with contradictions as rendered them very troublesome to reconcile. Whether any mystical motive of this kind has brought the Duke of Richmond into this present predicament, is not easy to ascertain; but this I affirm, that I would sooner undertake with Erasmus* to prove, that the horse which he stole from Sir Thomas More, had been in Flanders and in England at one and the same moment, than to reconcile the Richmond of eighty-one, with the Richmond of eighty-four. Athenasius himself was an Euclid to him. Indeed he is made up of paradoxes.

CONSISTENCY in the new allies would be fatal to our welfare, and all of them who have vindicated their claim to *our* affections by a sincere dereliction of their former principles, and a thorough oblivion of past declarations, opinions, and doctrines, *should* have our affections. Foremost in this line of service stands his Grace the Duke of Richmond, as the reader will see from this brief review.

THE Duke said, he never deserted and never would desert his friends—in eighty-two he kept, and in eighty-three recovered, his place

* Quod mihi scripsisti, de corpore Christi,
 Crede quod edes, et edis;
 Sic tibi referibo, de tuo palirido,
 Crede quod habes, et habes.

by their down-fall and his desertion. He ever was, and ever will be a whig—he supported every effort of the King's friends for the last twelve months, which radically overturns the whole system of whiggism. He ever was, and will ever be an enemy to coalitions—he is linked in bonds of dearness with Gower and Thurlow, Dundas and Jenkinson. He ever was, and ever will be a foe to secret influence—he bends every day with a contrite reverence to the high priests of the temple. He always did, and always will, oppose the influence of the crown—he lately helped to encrease it beyond all former examples. He had so little regard for the person of his sovereign, that he refused a mark of decorum shewn in all civilized nations to the reigning prince, and publicly* proclaimed his contempt for it—he is now the most devout devoted courtier in the long list of cringing sycophants. He was the first in past times to combat all stretches of the prerogative—he is now the most furious advocate for its extreme exertion. He arraigned the use of it violently in calling up to the peerage, a man of a very noble and illustrious family †—He now employs it in

* “*What care I for the King's birth-day.*”—Richmond.

† LORD SACKVILLE. He was at the same time virulently attacked by one of the present Secretaries of State, which Secretary, report says, he is himself to succeed in office, and may God of his infinite goodness make it a true report. There is an alliance between the virtues. Kick a spaniel and he fawns upon you. In return for this contempt the spirited Sackville supports these very men *vi et armis*, and his sons in law carried one of the sulphur and saltpetre addresses in Ireland, where some sad ills befel the family. No man should neglect *his own*, for the sake of a *minister's business*.

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raising upstarts, and borough brokers to the higher ranks of the nobility. He reveres the Majesty of the people—and has struggled to reduce them into insignificance, by degrading the only organ through which they can have any permanent influence. He respects the House of Commons---and studies to deprive it of its fundamental privileges. He has pledged himself never to join or support any administration that would not earnestly endeavour to reform the representation---he has never said one word on the loss of Sawbridge's motion, although the minister's *dead* majority in the lower House was two hundred. He is *quite serious* for reform---and would employ every man in England, high and low, poor and rich, great and little, (women and children * barely excepted) once every year, upon the pleasant task of parliament choosing. He loves order --- and would place the link-boy and pick-pocket upon a footing with the most respectable citizen. He values the dignity and independence of honourable professions---and would sink the great establishment he conducts to the lowest pitch of servility. He admires the frankness of

* As an enemy to our system of government I most earnestly wish success to the *Duke of Richmond's reform*, cordially believing, that it would of its own natural operation, work the downfall of this constitution in a few years; and perhaps Mr. Pitt had as well adopt his Grace's plan, as the scheme in hand, to effect our *redemption*, as well as to save his own credit with the reformers.

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a manly candor---and persecutes a brave and venerable officer for giving a free opinion upon a system of regulations that changed the whole character of a sphere of service from which the officer derived his reputation and fortune. All that remains to complete his Grace's character, is that he should propagate an *Agrarian* principle, and strive to equalize the *properties* as well as the franchises of men—an atchievement for which the generosity of his own noble nature fits him in a most especial manner.

IN a word, we have no reason to dread the Duke of Richmond?

I AM NOW ARRIVED at the darling point of my undertaking, to the review of the youth himself, the matchless leader of this mighty host! After having engaged so much of our attention in the preceding parts of this pamphlet, you would suppose that nothing more could be said of Mr. Pitt. Of what are called his political principles, further elucidation is without doubt superfluous, but all his personalities, those appendages of character which exhibit the mind in the faithfullest colours are still in a state of virginity, and these form a various and fruitful theme.

EXTRAORDINARY enterprises can only be accomplished by extraordinary means. The overthrow of the British constitution will be an epoch in the history of this country, and
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the qualities of the man who effects it, will be an epoch in the history of the human mind. No man is competent to this grand achievement who is not capable of inverting the whole order of moral judgment—who cannot give grace to the grossest deformity, make infection pass for health, and insanity for wisdom; confound the intellects of the public, and draw from rank delusion, the fruits of grave and sober conviction—in short, who cannot perpetrate with applause and triumph what any other man would suffer for, upon a scaffold or a gibbet.

THE outset of William Pitt was marked by some of the strongest features that ever gave an early earnest of future perfection. In March 1782, he declared himself totally unfit for the only civil stations he would accept, but by the next July he acquired so much knowledge, and the mysteries of government (certainly by inspiration) became so easy to him, that he ascended the most laborious office in the English government without the least scruple.

AFTER a long laborious opposition, the Whigs were called to the ministry, and when they were thought firm in the fastness of power, a closet mine was sprung upon them and down they tumbled. William Pitt after one year's concurrence in their opposition, steps into their places, chaunts

up

up the old ballad—*Sic vos non vobis*, and tramples them under his feet.

IF after many a bloody struggle in some well fought siege, an ally should come in the crisis of conquest, in the very moment of capitulation, and after a needless shot or two should take possession of the fortress—fill his own coffers with the spoils of the town, and bind his brows in wreaths of victory, to the utter exclusion of the brave troops and their heroic commander who really fought and conquered—you would call it vile, base, and treacherous. It would be so in war, and the nation would think it so in politics, had it been the deed of any other man than William Pitt—but in him it was spirit and patriotism and honesty! Without affecting a minute analysis of the moral merit of this act, there was indisputably that strength of nerve displayed in it, that firm contempt of what cold common mortals term fairness, that laudable love of power which would demolish heaven itself to attain its object, that stoic resignation to the imputations of a scandalous and shabby avarice, that premature apathy to feelings which many a long year of indiscriminate experience cannot obliterate in vulgar politicians—that this act, (singly and independent of any other exploit) confirmed him as one destined to surpass the loftiest flights of ordinary ambition—as something greater than the greatest we have yet seen!

WHETHER

WHETHER the public, or his immediate connections have carried their predilection for Mr. Pitt to the farthest extreme, is difficult to determine. The people in sanctioning his proceedings have luckily in so far altered the system of the English government—his friends in their zeal for him would have changed the whole system of human nature. Their cry has been in the late struggle, “charge him with some crime, “ he is pure of all guilt, and therefore the “ fittest man to govern the country.”

UNTIL last year, criminality was thought so little an adjunct of inexperience, that the counter opinion has ever prevailed. The wickedness of age, and the innocence of youth, have been allied in moral calculation even to a proverb—“ Tell me the oldest man “ in Athens, said a wise man, and I’ll tell “ you the greatest rogue.”—But proverbs and principles had no weight with the friends of Mr. Pitt.—That the laws of providence were unchangeable—that the principles of creation were fixed, that human nature was and would still be, human nature, were no checks upon their enthusiasm. Even butchers wept!--Lord Mulgrave himself assayed upon his virtues!--That Pitt’s enemies could not confound the order of God and subvert the condition of mortality, was in truth sufficient reason that Pitt should be the minister---for they could not impeach him.

him although his political life was of *one entire and compleat year's duration*. I say this *has been* the cry, but whether his *second year* does or does not constitute an exception to those theories that suppose youth and innocence to be synonymous, is a knot to be unravelled by others.

FROM the beginning of this reign one great evil has uniformly thwarted the King's friends---the precipitate retreat of the public ministers, when pressed hard by the enemy. Grenville's, Grafton's, Shelburne's, severally surrendered at the call. Even Lord Bute's resistance was short. The indelible crime of Lord North, was his relinquishing, when the desertion of the Commons was only in prospect.

A PERSON was necessary as first minister, whose wants made the emoluments of office dear to him—who would stick to his place like a leech to an imposthume—whose callous heart could endure the cuffs of the struggle, and who had the courageous obtuseness to treat the censure of the Commons like the sarcasm of a paragraph. Twice they tried this illustrious youth, and twice he has asserted an eminence of superiority in this most useful of merits. In 1783 he kept the country for six weeks, and in 1784 for six months, without any ostensible government. ---

—*Curruque hæsit resupinus inani,*
Lora tenens tamen.---

He

---He was turned upside down---trailed along the ground with his head in the mud, but *still kept fast hold of the reins.*

ACUTE inspectors of human life have observed, that the most consummate deception is often seen in very young people, and that it arises not so much from a contamination of the mind, as an insensibility to the intrinsic turpitude of that vice from inexperience, and their prodigious facilities in the art of imposition from the confidence generally reposed in them upon a presumption of their pureness. I make this remark without any application of it to Mr. Pitt, for he without question, comprizes in his own person all the virtues of experience and longevity. Not to enter upon any moral discussion of it, we know that hypocrisy is in truth a minister's sheet anchor. It is the *sine qua non* of his situation, and in this admirable quality Lord Shelburne himself is the essence of simplicity compared with Mr. Pitt.

Do you think Lord Shelburne would venture to assure the Commons of England, that his Majesty did *not* mean to dissolve them at the very moment he *did* positively mean it? — (The minister's glory in this respect must not be tarnished upon an idea that he was only a puppet, and not trusted with the real design of the cabinet.)

Do you think Lord Shelburne would hazard the farcical negotiation of last February,
and

and appear serious in wishing a junction with the Whigs at the same time that his emissaries were sent to all parts of the kingdom to secure that very measure which was intended to prevent a junction? Observe his loss and gain by this trick. He only lost those untractable animals the country gentlemen—he gained a parliament picked and chosen to his own purposes, and the celebrity of surpassing all the ministers that ever went before him in this best of virtues.

FATE, that favored us in all these exigencies, prevented a junction that would certainly have lengthened out the life of this lingering constitution. The miscarriage of that treaty is indeed a cause of triumph—one regret only arises from its failure. There is a splendid quality of the human mind which would doubtless receive fresh luminations from Mr. Pitt, had he sat in the same cabinet with Mr. Fox. It is that which Shakespeare says turns men's graces into enemies; that spirit which gangrenes the heart and mortifies the soul at another's merit—which likes a friend while he is contemptible, and hates him in proportion to the growth of his fame and the brilliancy of his exploits—whose workings are not checked by communion of interest or unity of fortune, but in the very act of co-operating in the same cause and in struggling for the same end, studies to degrade

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its fellow labourer.—That sweet refinement of the exterior, that smooth soft polish of the mind, which simpers in your face and choaks with joy at your success even *then*, when it would undermine your character, stop the current of your good fortune, blast your fairest laurels, and sink you into barrenness and beggary.

POETS and politicians excel the rest of the world in this great quality. Its sympathy with the thousand other virtues which distinguish Mr. Pitt, and which seem innate and peculiar to him, assures us that he would throw a number of new graces upon it, had he sat in the same council with *him*, who of all men living was the most likely to furnish him with frequent occasions; and in this view, moral philosophy may have suffered by the failure of that junction, but then its tendency to expedite the ultimatum of our wishes, super-atones for every other evil.

THE minister's *manners* in the Lower House form another ground of just praise.---

WE have already shewn that Mr. Pitt treated the laws and precedents of parliament as the younger Tarquins treated the older—he rode over their body---All the sanctities and ceremonies of parliament shared the same deserved fate. An affectation there is in vulgar ministers of respecting wherever they find them, certain accomplishments (as they
are

are deemed) such as science, learning, wit, belles lettres, genius.---Even in the most determined enemies, these endowments have been revered---But this renowned young man springs above the level of such infirmities, and in his parliamentary manners has dealt out the most high and haughty contempt, to such members *especially* as happened to rank high in public esteem upon these very pretences. You would think on the first consideration perhaps, that such a man as Burke was entitled to the usage of a gentleman. His contributions to the stock of useful philosophy; his exposition of false ethicks, and false polity; those splendid labours which augment the literary glory of the nation, his vast and varied literature, the number, the beauty of his compositions, his age, the devotion of thirty years to the public service, that eloquence which *once* carried his name covered with admiration to every part of the empire.---

ADMITTING him to possess a hundred times this merit, it were mere weakness to allow him the least quarter: for he is a most rancorous and remorseless enemy to the King's friends. The illustrious youth opened the batteries upon him in person, and bravely declared that he despised him.* This was the sig-

* In debating the King's speech when the Marquis of Lansdown was Minister, and Mr. Pitt Chancellor of the Exchequer.

nal for systematic operation, and scoffing Burke with every indignity is now become a sphere of service, a regular channel of promotion. It made *Wrotlesley* a general, and will enoble *Rolle*.

By the same pitiful calculation you would presume, for instance that, if Sheridan's literary labours were alluded to by this great minister, the allusion would be in his praise. Oh! no—His towering soul is a stranger to such feelings. For this very excellence in Sheridan---for an unrivalled superiority in one of the most difficult exercises of the human capacity;---for that which "young Ammon" wished, but wished in vain"—for an eminence in letters, which made the name of *Sheridan* respectable, when the name of *Pitt* (resplendent as it afterwards became) was never even heard of—has the noble youth obliquely taunted him and continued the practice until a tide of defeats deterred him from such encounters. The minister is entrenched body deep in human nature through these conflicts. The family of *Pitt* was exalted by personal genius, and nothing can be more reasonable than his jealousy that any other man should burst from the cloud of an ill matched fortune, and by dint of parts erect himself into that notice and distinction, which the bulk of mankind owe to the labours of several men in several generations. "To hate those arts that caused ourselves to rise,"

rise," is a golden maxim, engraved upon the heart in deep and legible impressions.

To draw good effects from bad causes, to derive popularity from real virtue is mere botchery. Give us the man who can extort glory from positive wickedness, and set the nation blubbing his praises for an act that deserves their execration. The affair of the *Pells* exhibits a striking instance of this species of merit in this incomparable minister.

His present majesty has the greatest personal revenue of any monarch in Christendom. Four times however in the course of his reign, have the public been obliged to pay his debts: (in the last payment there has been infinite excellence. His majesty assured the nation when Pitt was minister before, that he should not again press upon them in that way; and pressing upon them in that very way and in less than two years, shews that valiant contempt of solemn declarations which is indispensable to a good government.) The magnitude of his income and the extremity of his distresses * forced a suspicion of the integrity of the expenditure, and from a series of concurring circumstances, this suspicion grew to such a height that granting money to the civil list and bribing the parliament, were deemed one and the same thing. The clerkship of the *Pells*

* His Lord Steward once told the House of Peers that his majesty had not a loaf of bread for his supper.

is a very profitable situation, but never was considered as a fit provision for a chief minister. No chief minister ever accepted it, and William Pitt, on the top of Pisga with the land of Canaan before his eyes—at the head of this government and at his time of life, with all the great sinecures of the country in prospect, was not quite so unbackneyed in the ways of men as to stoop to such a trifle. No. He did that which was far more beneficial in that crisis; he gave the Pells to Colonel Barre, and threw Barre's pension of near four thousand pounds a year back into the sinking fund of the King's friends—into this very *civil list*: and this he did in the heyday of the parliamentary struggle last winter. I will admit for a moment with the faction, that corrupting the Commons is vile and infamous, disgraceful as they say to the Crown and the legislature, but they are blind not to perceive that the more this is admitted, the more it enhances the glory of Pitt. Not Fabricius in rejecting the gold of Pyrrhus—nor Cincinnatus in abandoning empire for poverty, nor the elder nor the younger Cato were half so extolled as William Pitt for this notable generosity. He was a mirror of disinterestedness! a model of purity! *Romanis ducibus et Graiis antefereendus*—fifty cubits beyond any thing in Greek or Roman story!!

FROM the affair of the receipt tax, this wonderful young man hit off a merit of nearly

ly the same fort. When Lord John introduced this tax, Pitt praised it extremely; but when he found it became unpopular, he judiciously ceased his panegyrics, and Lord Mahon (his brother in law) laboured daily in the pace of Jacob, with head and hands and shoulders, to swell the clamor against it. Such is the wittol courage of the *façtion*, that in the height of the public phrenzy last winter, they dared to carry forward a bill to make this tax effectual and on the 10th of February upon a discussion of its clauses, the House demanded Pitt's opinion upon it. The question was put to him in a thousand shapes, and for several hours before he opened his lips. It is an admirable part of Mr. Pitt's parliamentary manners that, though he often replies to the question of an individual member, whenever the body of the House request an answer from him, he sits as motionless and mute as a statue. For a minister to refuse an answer concerning a public measure, is always well---but it is still better that a finance minister upon a point of finance should sit speechless. At length however he declared the tax an admirable one, and supported it.

THIS contempt of the House was a great object, but he had a much greater object in contemplation. The tax in question had been the chief ground of odium against the *façtion*. The famous meeting in Westminster Hall was advertised for the succeeding

Saturday, and Pitt, with the wisdom of a profound statesman, expected that the electors of Westminster would be kindly taken in by this exquisite cunning, coupled with a report which had been just at that time carefully propagated, that he meant to repeal it---and that they would of course receive their old favorite Fox with the more coldness. But you would think perhaps that the perseverance of the House defeated Pitt's scheme---By no means. His fruitful soul is fraught with expedients. By the dawn of the day of the Westminster meeting, handbills were dispersed through all parts of the town, and delivered at the hall gate to the electors, gravely cautioning them, "not to credit the misrepresentations of a degraded and desperate faction upon this subject, solemnly assuring the public that Mr. Pitt reprobated the receipt tax, and that he would most certainly repeal it."---What chance have his miserable enemies against a minister so rich in resources?

PICTURES are often presented to us by fanciful writers of a certain nobleness of thinking (as it is called) that grows out of the intrinsic dignity of a great mind---a grandness of thought, which scorns the promotion of fame by low artifices, which despises the giddy adulation that imposture filches from blinding the multitude, and the venal flattery which corruption purchases

chafes from slaves and sycophants, valuing itself only upon the sober applause resulting from a deliberate canvass of a man's real merits; and these pictures I confess are very captivating in theory: but constrained to such a sphere, no minister would ever make the impression necessary for *us* in this great undertaking. The qualifications we want are the exact reverse of this picture—We want a loftiness that would snuff the Heavens at one moment, and a grovelingness that would lick the dust upon the next—an inflated assumption of purity, thick in the practice of the rankest prostitution—a pompous pretence of neglecting the common arts of popularity making, when the most shameless shifts, the most scandalous devices, are exerted to extort the perishable acclaim of a single day.—We want that useful pride which is meanness in reality—that mysterious sort of subtlety which is mistaken for candour ---that pollution which passes for purity---that fraud which wears the garb of honesty, and that sordidness and baseness which resemble spirit and honour. These are the ingredients to constitute a true statesman. These are the virtues we want, and in these virtues the Almighty has gifted this matchless young Minister beyond the first of the first class!!

WHAT does the reader think of old Pitt's celebrated retort upon Walpole (when Walpole taunted him for his youth) being published during the late struggle, in a shape so
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singularly dextrous as to appear the work of Pitt the younger---fastening the supposition by annexing a catalogue of brilliant invectives against the “ degraded and the desperate “ faction?” And how published, in pamphlets and news-papers?—No—there the fallacy had been soon detected. Honest John Bull was assaulted as he passed along the streets, with the mantling volume of this august Minister’s eloquence; and gaped with wonder to see how Fox was struck dumb by a speech, delivered twenty years before Fox was born!

Not a blank crevice of any dead wall, pedestal, centry-box, or cobbler’s bulk, in this great metropolis that was not decorated with this veritable evidence of the Minister’s capacity. Bolusses, plaisters, pills, draughts, decoctions, cathartics, clysters, and cataplasms, were all hidden under the vast folio of

PITT and the CONSTITUTION.

---Had the Minister continued the trade a month longer, the health of the community had infallibly been rescued from the poison of empirics; the whole tribe of itinerant doctors must have perished; and not a second quack in the country could have procured a livelihood!!

PITT (in imitation perhaps of the theologians, who comprise the essence of moral duties in four cardinal virtues) concentrates the whole compass

compass of political science under four cardinal aphorisms—*viz.* violation of chartered rights—erecting a fourth estate in our system—overturning the well compounded ballance of this constitution---and the coalition. These are his cardinal aphorisms, and whether he is engaged in defending or attacking, whether he is opening a great measure of government, or displaying an adversary's ignorance, for saying *or* instead of *and*, whether puzzled by his own or his enemy's argument, in whatever embarrassments, dilemmas, or difficulties he finds himself, a recurrence to any of these is sure to rescue him. Every effort of reason and ridicule has been employed to sicken him from this practice, but he declares that he *shall* and that he *will* continue the custom in despite of both. These Cardinal aphorisms come home to the bowels of the House, and a sonorous bringing out of either of them, accompanied with a bounce of the arm and a long look towards the right door of the gallery, is always infallible in procuring a formidable chorus of dissonant but determined *bear him*.

THEIR political uses are infinite. After so stoutly resisting the violation of Charters by other men, who can dispute his right to cut up the great Charter of the land in the vital part, or to purloin the Charter of the India Company in the way that suits his own purposes? Such grace, such magic is there about him,

him, that even in the very act of attacking Charters, he stuns the senses with the sacredness of Chartered rights---After opposing the addition of a new estate, who can deny his title to reduce the old estates? If three estates are better than four, by the same ratio, two are better than three. Expansion always relaxes authority, and blending the powers of the third estate in the two first, will brace the system amazingly---After maintaining "the well compounded balance of the constitution," surely the destruction of the constitution in toto is his, by right of conquest.

TOWARDS the accomplishment of great events, nothing has a prouder effect than sanguinary measures. Blood strikes an awe into men, and shedding a portion of it gives a solemn and workmanlike air to a revolution. Even in this superior line of merit, the ministry have discovered considerable capacity, but we are defrauded of their full energy by the littleness of the modern character. Ministers, like men, must accommodate themselves to the genius of their time, and a legal death in England, may fairly quadrate with a military massacre in Rome. The principle that ordered the destruction of six legions in the latter country, was not a spark more pure or more noble than the principle which destined six men in the former country to perish by the hands of the hangman; and a difference in the *size* of the events is imputable,

able, not to the disproportion of faculty in the statesmen, but to the wide disparity of the two ages. In confining six men in Newgate, and then trying them * for a murder, upon the bribed evidence in all appearance of the real murderers, there was undoubted and decisive excellence—but the conduct was most accomplished towards the seventh murderer---the chief victim of this immolation. He was suffered to range the town for six weeks after he killed the constable, as ignorant of the honour intended him, as the destined sacrifice in Pope's Essay, and though not literally "Licking the hand just raised to shed his blood,"---was (up to the *very moment* of being charged in a bill of indictment with the slaughter of a fellow-creature) so confident and unwary, that his accusers have all the glory of that subtle and finished treachery which speaks the utmost refinement of mind, undegraded by the simplicity of shame, or the foolishness of remorse, but altogether forming that supreme that sublime villainy which marks a true genius!

BUT alas! the trial was by a jury, and Buller was not the Judge.

AND do you imagine, Mr. Pitt will ever be detected as authorizing such a prosecution?---
He---His high soul swells with indignation

* FOR the death of Casson the constable killed in Covent Garden.

at the very thought. Do you think *he* ever authorized the High Bailiff of Westminster to grant a scrutiny? Do you think *he* would tell a peer that the King would deem him an enemy if he voted for the India Bill. Do you think *he* ever bribed any member of the House of Commons? (*his* undefiled person concerned in such a bawdy business!) Oh no.---He has a fecundity of stratagems upon every exigency, and his own opulent fancy, (without the advantages of his station) will never suffer him to be disconcerted upon such occasions.

The beauty of this plot is, that though the prosecution was maintained with a most laudable malignancy, it is universally disavowed. "When your possibility has taken place at the hip, you might as well take off the head at once, doctor," said a father once, upon a certain dismemberment which a son of his had nearly suffered from a slip of the midwife's forceps.---Had this murderer been hanged, it had been a matter of indifference to him whether any person would avow the thing or not.---Somebody must have carried it on that is certain---and yet, from the first minister at Whitehall, to the last miscreant at the Old Bailey, every respectable person has positively denied any knowledge of it. It was right to deny the prosecution since it failed, but it was the soul of true wisdom to commence

commence it. Make death the price of friendship to a man, and few will persist in so hazardous an attachment. All the schemes of human life are carried on by confederacy, and if the greatest are stripped of their connections, they become of no avail. When you cannot directly ruin your enemy; the best indirect mode is to destroy his friends, and had this prosecution succeeded, a copious desertion must instantly have taken place in the forces of Fox, which consideration alone is a full justification of the attempt. If Fox should (as seems likely) soon regain his ascendancy over the public; greater than the greatest of past efforts, must be tried to lower him. Daggers may be used to better purpose than threatening the use of them in letters:---there are surer poisons than *euphorbium*, and methods of administering it more infallibly than dashing it upon a huffings.

HAVING spoken of Fox, I cannot forbear remarking the fanaticism of his friends in daring to lift him into any competition with this wonderful young minister, and the better to demonstrate the madness of their zeal, it is worth while to review them both in contrast.

THAT TRANSCENDANT CAPACITY, which qualifies the individual to lead the million, burst upon the world from both, the first moment they spoke in the Senate.

But

But their gifts are unequal, and the superior endowment of the one is sufficiently attoned to the other, by the most singular strokes of fortune that ever lifted a man prematurely out of his sphere.

AFTER a routine of service in most of the civil boards of executive government---after fourteen years of long labour, trouble, and toil, Fox attained only a secondary employment in the King's council.--Pitt got the first office in the state after about fourteen months agreeable exercise, without the drudgery of study, the pain of subordination, or the fatigue of long endurance.

Fox began his career under family prejudice, and had a mass of obstacles to subdue. His name like Vespasian's lineage created hosts of enemies.---

PITT entered upon life in all the eclat of hereditary glory, and had the prepossessions of mankind in his favour. The name he bore, like the stamp of Pompey's foot, raised him legions of friends.

Fox is so bereft of resources, that he has nothing to confide in but his own genius and industry. He became a minister through the people and their representatives, and has managed so miserably that he can never hope to regain power by any other course. Narrow and circumscribed in his sphere, he is only a whig—a mere whig.—

PITT confides in a degree to his genius,
and

and industry, but he has a surer ground of success than both of them. He would have been a minister by the voice of the Commons perhaps by choice, but finding that road barred up, he took fate as he found her, and journeyed onward even by the path-way. He has shewn such a dexterity of address, that he may retain or re-ascend his present dignity, by every method that ever elevated a politician in this country, without hazard of consistency; and his creed is so comprehensive that he is Whig or Tory, both or neither, according to the pressure of necessity.

FOX is encumbered with passion without acerbity, and discovers all the infirmities of human nature in the course of a discussion. Guided by the impulse of his heart, his temper varies with the variation of his subject, without guard or discretion. He sometimes yields up a point with an indecent facility, but struggles for a principle with as uncouth and violent a zeal as if he struggled for his existence.—

PITTS is graced by acerbity without any passion, and manifests the most philosophic equanimity in the most interesting debate. Undistorted by the barbarism of feeling, his mind maintains an even tenor of uniformity, and he paints the miseries of an empire, and the misplacing of a comma, precisely under

the same animation. He never gives up a point without some conflict, but then he surrenders principles with a most placid and gentleman-like complaisance.

Fox rashly assaults the enemy in his strongest entrenchment, and is never contented with less than the cruel delight of seeing his antagonist lay dead at his feet.—

PITTS seeks the safer glory of cutting off a stray detachment, and never risks an encounter in the front: like a judicious Polemic he combats the slips and digressions of an argument, and has the charitable self-denial to be perfectly satisfied if he scratches the surface without in the least molesting the vital parts.

Fox has the rudeness to disdain the use of ornament in his speeches. He employs words only to convey his meanings, and is always impatient to get rid of them. The study of his soul is to demonstrate his positions, and he has such an unpolished aversion to redundancy, that in his zeal to avoid it, he checks himself in the use of graces that flow in spontaneously upon his elocution.---

PITTS with more skill carefully consults the great object of sound. His words are the most shewy which the language affords him, and he dwells upon each, like Narcissus upon his own image. His speeches, like the portrait of a young painter, are always high

high-coloured, and if he does not convince you with the solid force of his reasoning, he at least composes you with the slumbering suavity of his phrases.

THE infecundity of the former, compared to the latter is most glaring. Fox has not the faculty to say three words upon a subject which he does not understand. He never aspires above plain simple terms, and is so vulgar as to be comprehensible to the meanest capacity. He puts his argument indeed into a variety of lights, but then his sterility is such, that he seldom adds a word more than is sufficient to express his sense.---

PITT on the contrary is inexhaustible and endless. He will at any given time, upon any given subject, make a most splendid speech, embellished with gaudy shining sentences admirably concatenated, and a series of successive parentheses, knit together with a most scholastic punctuation—entirely disburthened at the same time of the smallest * knowledge of the point in dispute. He is often so lofty and sublime that several of the most acute of his hearers, nay some of his own country gentlemen have very frankly confessed, that he actually went above their understanding. He has the happiest talent

* He made three very fine speeches against an objection of Sheridan's upon the Game Act, and at the end of the third, asked Sheridan what his objection was.

at amplitude, and will with incredible ease to himself, employ six times the number of words of any other man, in conveying the same meaning.

PITT excels in the rancorous severity of his invectives and the splendor of his diction :---

Fox only in the fulminations of oratory and an invincible strength of reasoning.

To be blind to ones own merit is to be supremely foolish, and nothing surely is more exorbitant than to hope others will rate us highly if we do not rate ourselves so. Fox sins against the grain of this good maxim. Whilst others think his genius places him at the head of mankind, his own demeanor is so miserably unassuming that he would pass upon a stranger for a person of little note.

PITT never trusts the delicate task of asserting his own worth, even to his best friends: and every word, deed, and declaration judiciously convey, that he thinks himself (what he most certainly is)—the greatest man in all the world!!

If power be precious, to surrender it hastily is the worst rashness, and no man is worthy of it who does not prove its value by a lust of procuring and a reluctance at parting it. Fox was always displaced by intrigues; but he retires from office with as unfeeling an indifference, as if it was not
worth

worth keeping.---No intrigue and no treachery could affect the mind of Pitt. He bravely resisted a battery of six weeks censures from the Commons of England, and never gave up his station until he was kicked off the Treasury bench.

IN every personal view the superiority of Pitt is unquestionable. A conscience that can digest a direct breach of the most solemn engagement, and a total obliteration of every sense of gratitude when occasion requires, are the most useful attributes of a statesman. In these qualities Fox is glaringly defective. He has never been honoured with a reproach for *private* perfidy, his mind cannot aspire to the dignity of a breach of *public* faith, and the meanest person that contributed to his exaltation has never accused him with an oblivion of favor.---

PITT scorns the diminutive graces of personal treachery, his huge soul pants for larger glory. A signal deception of the most august assembly in England is alone worthy his capacity, and his vast ambition is clogged by no embarrassments from gratitude to those who promoted him. The first act of his Ministry (except betraying the Commons) was to disgrace the very person* whose hardyhood caused his own elevation, and he is said to have lately given a speci-

* The Marquis of Buckingham.

men of this virtue to the first person in the nation---nay to those “ who are greater than “ the throne itself!” Fifteen years before his time he was called to one of the first offices in the British government by the Earl of Shelburne, and in return, he has laid this nobleman upon the shelf, to grow reverend from rust, like a piece of vertu.

Fox without power or fortune has a vast body of adherents, and so inveterate is their attachment, that oppression and treachery against their leader only serve to encrease their fidelity---

PITT has a surer pledge of loyalty, he has place and patronage, and while he continues Minister will always command a host of followers.

THE external manners of Fox are the most unguarded imaginable. What stains not the private man, in his judgment, deforms not the public man. He sacrifices to the sex with as little disguise as if the thing were not unfashionable, and would take a favourite Gabriel by the arm, with as careless a sincerity as the fourth Henry of France, or the fifth of England.---

MALIGNITY itself can impute no such scandal to Mr. Pitt.

A FROWARD declaration of principles is very indiscreet in a Minister, for the time may come when it may be expedient to re-
nounce

nounce all principles whatever. Fox carries this weakness to the most ridiculous extreme. He boasted himself the Minister of the people, he justified the resumption of violated trust from Kings, and had the audacity to vindicate the Revolution, when seated upon the Treasury bench.---

PITT with more judgment, boasted himself "the minister of the crown." Of Kings and revolutions his prudence kept him silent, but then he arraigned the resumption of violated trust from a company of trading monopolists, with a most determined sincerity.

THEIR India bills reflect an infinity of lights upon these two statesmen. Fox broke the charter of the company openly without their consent. — Pitt broke it cunningly with their consent. The former placed the authority at home, where its defects might be remedied upon discovery, which would be very fatiguing. --- The latter lodged it in India, the scene of every iniquity, where the evil is completed, before we have the pain of hearing one word about it. Fox shewed no invention in his system. He only went upon the common acknowledged principles of government and placed the execution in the few, the controul in the many. --- Pitt's system disclosed a mine of invention. He proceeded upon a plan, truly original, and dextrously inverted all the received principles of political science. He gave the

execution to the many, and the controul to the few. Fox placed the patronage not in the Crown whose influence was already too exorbitant, *by the word of parliament*---not in the Company who had already abused it, *by the word of parliament*; but in a body of men whose unfortunate honesty was their only hope of safety---for this disposal of it roused the vigilance of the whole nation (a temper always injurious to government) and their ruin was infallible upon perverting this influence, opposed as they would be to a certainty, by the Crown, the Peers, and the Company, and perhaps by the public — accountable! responsible! punishable!—

PITT placed the patronage in those very bodies where parliament forbid it, and with great skill rendered it their mutual interest to connive at their mutual abuse of it; securing the indemnity of both under the obscurity of their operations, and the difficulty of being detected. The dispensers of the India Patronage under this bill, backed by the Crown, the Peers, the Commons, and the Company, may defy the malice and enmity of the whole kingdom.

Fox's bill was conceived in the very selfishness of intellectual pride. It was constituted so arrogantly perfect in its component parts, that no room was left for the skill of parliament. Its efficacy to the government
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of India was never once disputed, and it passed the Commons without one material change.---

PITT's bill, on the contrary, was founded with a view to the flattery of parliament. It was entirely calculated to try their skill at polish and amendment, and (excepting the trial by Jury, and the disposal of the patronage) passed into a law, as radically transmuted as Sir John Cutler's worsted stockings. Its experience since it passed, gives us the delicious hope of having the amusement of new alterations in it, every new sessions, which will happily furnish debates for the registers! paragraphs for the press! conversation for the public! and comments for all Europe!!

Fox impudently reprobated the India delinquents. He defied their power, and fell a victim to it.—

PITT reprobated them also with a most plausible gravity, but then he secured their support by a most singular address; and though perhaps he refused a title to Hastings (for Hastings has served him) he crouches to his creatures, with the most engaging condescension.

Success is the test of all human excellence, and by this infallible criterion, my hero surpasses his rival beyond the presumption of parallel---*Fox's bill was the instrument*
of

of his down-fall---Pitt's bill confirmed his exaltation.

THE same fate characterizes the coalitions that each of them has formed. Fox began his political life under Lord North. He served with him in the Admiralty, Treasury, Pells, &c. After a formidable opposition of eight years, and when America (Heaven blefs the King and his friends) had ceased to be any object here, he joined Lord North (whose alliance was courted at the same time by that cabinet of which Pitt was a chief member)---exactly as Cicero joined Antony, and Chatham Newcastle. — This coalition is justly deemed base, vile, and infamous.---

PITT joined men whom he opposed during the *whole* of his political life, and very charitably allied himself to that closet cabal, against whom he imbibed an hereditary hatred.---That very cabal whose uniform aim was the destruction of his father---who disgraced him in the year sixty-one, deceived him in sixty-five, dishonoured him into a title in sixty-six, and after plucking off the plumage of his popularity, abandoned him soon after to the shame they betrayed him into, and left him to pine the remainder of his days in penance and mortification.— This coalition is very justly deemed wise, and virtuous, and holy!!

HAVING given this contrast of these rival politicians (a contrast too long, I fear, for the
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the reader, though too short for the occasion) what is it, I may ask, but the most frantic folly that can infect the advocates for Fox, with any idea of his equal competency with Pitt to the government of (this empire, when (independant of Pitt's amiable designs upon the constitution, and without bringing any one *good* quality to his aid) his very vices are absolutely more beneficial to him, than his best virtues to Fox ?

THE same superiority distinguishes the literary advocates of the ministry. The writers for the faction are shallow fellows, who cannot go beyond a paltry scrap of wit, or a barren fact. A direct attack they seldom venture, but skulk into obliquity, and hide in implication. The miserable advantage their poor productions would yield them, had they been written in an upright straight forward stile, is utterly lost: for a jack pudding reader must think they are absolutely labouring for their enemies. But the ministerial writers disdain to cripple their censures or envelope their meanings. There is a probity in their stile which will not descend to the fraud of imposing on their reader. In them you find bone, and nerve, and muscle, and marrow. They give the faction to the world in its true colours. " Rogues, rascals, renegades, robbers, raggamuffins, scoundrels, swindlers, sharpers, brutes, beasts, bank-

rupts,

“ rupts, blackguards, thieves, liars, knaves, “ gamblers, villains, and vagabonds.” Here are titles that terrify, *verba spumantia*, names that strain the buccinatory muscles, and stagger the very utterance.---Perhaps you would think it as well to say nothing of their *ingenuity*, but there I beg pardon. A writer of the most singular ingenuity has lately entered the lists for the administration.

I WILL give the reader the full scope of his fancy—let him take in the whole circle of crimination, let him peruse all the registers of sin, from the Bible to Hill’s Sermons, and all the anathemas thundered out from Ernulphus down to my Lord Chancellor;---and in all these researches, he will, I maintain it, find nothing half so curious or half so apposite, as the crime which this writer brings home to the coalition ministry. It is neither more nor less than a positive charge of **SECRET INFLUENCE** — of Secret Influence without conceit or qualification. By the most miraculous penetration, he has discovered an exact parallel between the bigotted favouritism of Edward, and of Richard the Second, to Despencer and the Duke of Ireland, and his present Majesty’s dear and loving attachment to the coalition ministers: namely, to the *Duke of Portland*, to *Lord North*, and to *Charles Fox*. It matters not whether these princes admired or abhorred their servants—whether they
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generously adhered to them with the good faith of gentlemen, and the honour of Kings, or basely betrayed them with the treachery of ruffians—this inspired writer has made the thing as plain as St. Paul's Cathedral.

THE other parts of his performance are exactly of a piece with the above. *My* zeal for the King's friends has impelled *me* to great lengths; yet the rankest Toryism recommended or recorded in my pamphlet, is high treason compared with the tenets of this invaluable politician. He tells us what is certainly true, that our only hope centers in the executive power—that it is shameful the King cannot command money otherwise than by begging it from Parliament.—That the Civil List Reform bill was an impudent infringement upon the influence of the crown.—That the debts contracted by establishing the revolution, and by reducing the power of Lewis XIV. were not worth the acquisition—that the victories under the Duke of Marlborough and Lord Chatham were serious injuries—that the electors of the kingdom are a set of corrupt miscreants—that the late House of Commons was a herd of knaves—and that all the virtue and wisdom of the English nation, is deposited in the House of Lords.

Look askance at the best man living, and he will seem deformed, say the philosophers, —survey the worst with complacency, and you will find graces about him. This liberal line
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has been adopted by this excellent writer. He has cited the most furious measures of the House of Commons, in the most furious of times, contrasted with the amiable struggles of the hereditary representatives of the people; he demonstrates the vice of the democratic branch, points out the expediency of its demolition, and proves beyond all doubt, that the Lords alone deserve our confidence.

ALL the importance that a system of reasoning can derive from the dignity of the reasoner is due to this pamphlet. Had the reviler of the House of Commons been some reprobate vomited forth by that House as unfit to sit in it.—Had the reviler of the electors been a wretch of *such* a complexion, that the most profligate set of vote-mongers in the corruptest borough throughout the country would not touch with a tongue—the force of his calumnies might have been somewhat impaired. But when the reader knows his name, and knows that it is a man of that *Romanism* of soul, which would not contaminate itself by entering such a sink of filth as the House of Commons—a man of the most splendid reputation, and the most unfulfilled honour—who has no asperities from disappointment, no mortifications from the world's contempt—but who in the plentitude of conviction, in the fulness of sympathy, engages cordially in this great cause—when the reader learns that the
author

author of this pamphlet is *Sir William Meredith* himself; its doctrines, precious before, will acquire a tenfold value upon that rapturous information!

SIR William Meredith is the man who has thus figured under the ministerial standard—fit client for such patrons!—Unfortunate Burke*, thy laurels now indeed are blighted! *infelix atque impar congressus Achilli!*—opposed by such a combatant as Sir William Meredith, thy fall is certain!

THIS transcendent merit surely can never pass unrewarded under such a ministry. Sir William has services to recount, and merits to plead, beside his political abilities. A peerage is the least he deserves for his invectives against the Commons, and he is qualified for that dignity by all those graces that characterise some wealthier candidates for the same honour! Defects of fortune may be supplied from the privy purse, and Sir William can then push forward the cause in the full force of all his powers, for he is blessed with a variety of faculties, and is not confined to common channels in exhibiting his genius: *idoneus arti cuilibet.*

ONE omission only is observable in Sir William Meredith's pamphlet. The defamation of the heir apparent seems the chief aim of the ministerial writers, and Sir William has grossly neglected it. His next

* SIR William attacks a pamphlet of Mr. Burke's with infinite genius and skill.

essay will, however, I doubt not, make amends for that unpardonable informality.

THIS PRINCE'S NAME suggests to me the desperateness of our condition, should this constitution survive the present reign. Alas! what chance of happiness could we have under such a King as the present heir of the English crown. A Prince constituted as his associates say, of every thing inauspicious to our best wishes, without deceit, duplicity, or any of the other kingly virtues requisite to the furtherance of this great scheme — who feels the zeal of a rank Whig for this constitution — whom Whig topics and Whig characters constantly engross — who is weak enough to venerate the principles that raised his family to the British throne, and to love their descendants, who accomplished that daring change — who neither cants nor affects to cant — whose faults like his virtues are the faults of a man — open ingenuous, undisguised — whose character is pictured in his face, whose heart speaks in his words — who regards a friend with the sincerity of an equal, and is as cautious of his good faith, as if he were not destined for a diadem — who softens the prince with the urbanity of the gentleman, and exalts the gentleman with the graces of the prince!

THIS is their representation who know him best, and cursed with our present plagues,

plagues, our miseries would sure be endless under *his* succession. Surrounded by a host of Whigs, and contaminating the land with Whig principles, not one hope would remain for us.

*Heu stirpem inuisam et satis contraria nostris
Fata Phrygum.— —*

DILLIGENCE and activity in our several spheres may now save us and our posterity from this calamitous entail. Season and opportunity favour us. The people (pretend the faction what they may) the people I affirm, are decidedly with us. That the Pitt epidemic is cured, is now the enemy's cry,---but the Pitt epidemic is *not* cured. Miserable philosophers are they indeed who think the public mind flies from reason, and recurs to it again, with the same celerity. In decency to themselves, the people cannot disgrace the part they have so lately acted, by so early a recantation, nor desert the dear youth until (by his striking a great blow in the lucky crisis) their desertion only provokes his ridicule. The nation, in truth, appears sick of this constitution. The love of liberty is openly stigmatized as a hair-brained whimsical reverie. A deluge seems to have over-run the country, and happily swept away sensation, intelligence, and spirit. Public ignorance is ever favourable to the designs of power.

“ Fools grant whate'er ambition craves,

“ And men, once ignorant, are slaves.”

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That indeed is the golden hour of opportunity, and this paroxysm we have luckily attained. Despotic monarchs, and enslaved countries are the themes of our admiration—free states and freedom the but of our ridicule. That brilliant flame of national contempt for America, which for ten years before the American war pervaded this nation, * which subjected every man who ventured a word in vindication of the colonies, to a suspicion of treason against the present state, and which fortunately severed us from such despicable wretches—flourishes at this moment as vigorously as ever against that country. A portion of the same laudable sentiment prevails towards Ireland, as blindly ignorant at the same time of the real disease of Ireland, as if Ireland lay under the North Pole. As to the Dutch, the nation is bravely bursting with hatred against them, and why?—Because we were never at war with them before the year eighty-one—because Empires are cemented by the faith that binds individuals—

* Professed hostility to America had the same success in the general elections of 1768 and 1774, with professed *Pittism* in the late elections; which fact by the way, imparts an additional grace to the illustrious youth's invectives against Lord North for the American war.

— “ The people's voice is old;
 It is, and it is not, the voice of God.”

because

because the Dutch should not in decency eat, drink, sleep, grow fat, take physic **** or **** without our special leave : *for that* we helped them into independence two hundred years ago—from our enmity to Philip II. and assisted them in retaining that independence one hundred years ago—from the necessity we felt of humbling Lewis XIV. And as if the Dutch common-wealth was of no more weight in the scale of Europe than the English Commons in the scale of the English constitution, this nation burns against that people, with the rational revenge of a school-boy scratched by his play-fellow.

AN obvious good fortune may result to the ministry from the embarrassments of Holland. In reward of the treacherous friendship of France, it is possible the Dutch may yield up some of their Eastern territories, and the French, aided by the Indian princes, (who *all* hate us mortally) may perhaps exterminate the English completely from Asia. The ministry (their cares being then condensed to the management of this island singly) will not be diverted by external objects; and we may indeed hope to have our happiness established upon a solid basis.

THIS is indeed a consummation devoutly to be wished; and in the contemplation of it I shall now take my leave of the reader : invoking the genius of monarchy, that is,
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the spirit of good government, to illumine his understanding, as it has enlightened mine—that he may be induced to give his portion of aid to further the general felicity of human nature, and the particular happiness of his native country---by supporting this Ministry with might and main!!

FOR myself, I have only one thing to exact from the reader---that wherever I have failed to do full justice to the present Administration, he will impute the defect to lack of parts, and not of zeal for their success--- And if hereafter, when this crooked fabric shall be erased to the ground, the meanest man should attribute to my panegyricks any promotion of that great event, in *such* a cause the slightest praise will outweigh an immortality in any other, and I shall with truth exclaim in the words of the poet :

Sublimi feriam sidera vertice.

LONDON, *January* 22, 1785.

F I N I S.



